





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Wellcome Library

<https://archive.org/details/s3id13278140>

36800

ASIATICK RESEARCHES;
OR,
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
SOCIETY INSTITUTED IN BENGAL,
FOR INQUIRING INTO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,
THE
ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,
OF
A S I A.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, Lombard Street,
FOR VERNOR, HOOD, AND SHARPE; CUTHELL AND MARTIN; J. WALKER;
R. LEA; LACKINGTON, ALLEN, AND CO.; OTRIDGE AND SON;
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME; R. FAULDER;
SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN;
AND J. ASPERNE.

1807.

WILLIAM WALKER

1847

1847

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

1847

1847

1847

1847

1847

1847

1847

1847

ADVERTISEMENT.

AS it seemed proper to exhibit at one View, the Whole of Lieutenant WILFORD's learned Essay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, there was not Room in this Volume for a Meteorological Journal; and it may be doubted whether the Utility of such Diaries compensates for their Tedioufness, and for the Space which they occupy: the two Specimens already published, will give a correct Idea of the Weather in this Part of *India*. Very copious and interesting Materials for the Fourth Volume are now ready for the Press; but a short Paper on the Code of *Siamese* Laws, which was too hastily announced, has been unfortunately lost; and we cannot expect that Captain LIGHT, the only *Englishman* among us who understands the Language of *Siam*, should find Leisure, in his present important Station, to compose another Account of that curious, but abstruse, Work.

I.

THE EIGHTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24th FEBRUARY, 1791,

By the PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have taken a general view, at our five last annual meetings, of as many celebrated nations, whom we have proved, as far as the subject admits of proof, to have descended from three primitive stocks, which we call for the present, *Indian, Arabian, Tartarian*; and we have nearly travelled over all *Asia*, if not with a perfect coincidence of sentiment, at least with as much unanimity as can be naturally expected in a large body of men, each of whom must assert it as his right, and consider it as his duty, to decide on all points, for himself; and never to decide on obscure points, without the best evidence that can possibly be adduced. Our travels will this day be concluded; but our historical researches would have been left incomplete, if we had passed without attention over the numerous races of borderers who have long been established on the limits of *Arabia, Persia, India, China,*

and *Tartary*; over the wild tribes residing in the mountainous parts of those extensive regions; and the more civilized inhabitants of the islands annexed by geographers to their *Asiatick* division of this globe.

Let us take our departure from *Idume*, near the gulf of *Elanitis*, and having encircled *Asia*, with such deviations from our course as the subject may require, let us return to the point from which we began; endeavouring, if we are able, to find a nation who may clearly be shown, by just reasoning from their language, religion, and manners, to be neither *Indians*, *Arabs*, nor *Tartars* pure or mixed; but always remembering, that any small family detached in an early age from the parent stock, without letters, with few ideas beyond objects of the first necessity, and consequently with few words, and fixing their abode on a range of mountains, in an island, or even in a wide region before uninhabited, might, in four or five centuries, people their new country, and would necessarily form a new language, with no perceptible traces, perhaps, of that spoken by their ancestors. *Edom*, or *Idume*, and *Erythra*, or *Phenice*, had originally, as many believed, a similar meaning, and were derived from words denoting a *red* colour; but whatever be their derivation, it seems indubitable, that a race of men were anciently settled in *Idume*, and in *Median*, whom the oldest and best *Greek* authors call *Erythreans*, who were very distinct from the *Arabs*; and whom, from the concurrence of many strong testimonies, we may safely refer to the *Indian* stem. M. D'HERBELOT mentions a tradition (which he treats indeed as a fable) that a colony of those *Idumeans* had migrated from the northern shores of the *Erythrean* Sea, and sailed across the *Mediterranean* to *Europe*, at the time fixed by chronologers for the passage of *EVANDER*, with his *Arcadians*, into *Italy*, and that both *Greeks* and *Romans* were the progeny of these emigrants. It is not on vague and suspected traditions that we must build our belief

of such events: for NEWTON, who advanced nothing in science without demonstration, and nothing in history without such evidence as he thought conclusive, asserts from authorities, which he had carefully examined, that the *Idumean* voyagers, “carried with them both arts and sciences, among which were their astronomy, navigation, and letters; for in *Idume* (says he) they had *letters* and *names for constellations* before the days of JOB, who mentions them.” JOB, indeed, or the author of the book which takes its name from him, was of the *Arabian* stock, as the language of that sublime work incontestibly proves; but the invention and propagation of letters and astronomy, are, by all, so justly ascribed to the *Indian* family, that, if STRABO and HERODOTUS were not grossly deceived, the adventurous *Idumeans*, who first gave names to the stars, and hazarded long voyages in ships of their own construction, could be no other than a branch of the *Hindu* race. In all events, there is no ground for believing them of a *fourth* distinct lineage; and we need say no more of them, till we meet them again on our return, under the name of *Phenicians*.

As we pass down the formidable sea which rolls over its coral bed between the coast of the *Arabs*, or those who speak the pure language of ISMAÏL, and that of the *Ajams*, or those who *mutter it barbarously*, we find no certain traces on the *Arabian* side, of any people who were not originally *Arabs* of the genuine or mixed breed. Anciently, perhaps, there were *Troglodytes* in part of the peninsula, but they seem to have been long supplanted by the *Nomades*, or wandering herdsmen; and who those *Troglodytes* were, we shall see very clearly, if we deviate a few moments from our intended path, and make a short excursion into countries very lately explored on the Western or *African* side of the Red Sea.

That the written *Abyssinian* language, which we call *Ethiopick*, is a dialect of old *Chaldean*, and sister of *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, we know with certainty; not only from the great multitude of identical words, but (which is a far stronger proof) from the similar grammatical arrangement of the several idioms. We know, at the same time, that it is written, like all the *Indian* characters, from the left hand to the right, and that the vowels are annexed, as in *Dévanâgarî*, to the consonants; with which they form a syllabic system, extremely clear and convenient, but disposed in a less artificial order than the system of letters now exhibited in the *Sanscrit* grammars; whence it may justly be inferred, that the order contrived by PA'NINI, or his disciples, is comparatively modern; and I have no doubt, from a cursory examination of many old inscriptions on pillars, and in caves, which have obligingly been sent to me from all parts of *India*, that the *Nâgarî* and *Ethiopian* letters had at first a similar form. It has long been my opinion, that the *Abyssinians* of the *Arabian* stock, having no symbols of their own to represent articulate sounds, borrowed those of the black Pagans, whom the *Greeks* call *Troglodytes*, from their primeval habitations in natural caverns, or in mountains excavated by their own labour. They were probably the first inhabitants of *Africa*, where they became in time the builders of magnificent cities, the founders of seminaries for the advancement of science and philosophy, and the inventors (if they were not rather the importers) of symbolical characters. I believe, on the whole, that the *Ethiops* of *Meroë* were the same people with the first *Egyptians*, and consequently, as it might easily be shown, with the original *Hindus*. To the ardent and intrepid Mr. BRUCE, whose travels are, to my taste, uniformly agreeable and satisfactory, though he thinks very differently from me on the language and genius of the *Arabs*, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate information concerning

cerning the nations established near the *Nile*, from its fountains to its mouths, than all *Europe* united could before have supplied; but since he has not been at the pains to compare the seven languages, of which he has exhibited a specimen, and since I have not leisure to make the comparison, I must be satisfied with observing, on his authority, that the dialects of the *Gafots* and the *Gallas*, the *Agows* of both races, and the *Falashas*, who must originally have used a *Chaldean* idiom, were never preserved in writing, and the *Amharick* only in modern times: they must, therefore, have been for ages in fluctuation, and can lead, perhaps, to no certain conclusion as to the origin of the several tribes who anciently spoke them. It is very remarkable, as Mr. BRUCE and Mr. BRYANT have proved, that the *Greeks* gave the appellation of *Indians* both to the southern nations of *Africk*, and to the people among whom we now live: nor is it less observable, that, according to EPHORUS, quoted by STRABO, they called all the southern nations in the world *Ethiopians*, thus using *Indian* and *Ethiop* as convertible terms: but we must leave the Gymnosophists of *Ethiopia*, who seemed to have professed the doctrines of BUDDHA, and enter the great *Indian Ocean*, of which their *Asiatick* and *African* brethren were probably the first navigators.

On the islands near *Yemen*, we have little to remark: they appear now to be peopled chiefly by *Mohammedans*, and afford no marks of discrimination, with which I am acquainted, either in language or manners: but I cannot bid farewell to the coast of *Arabia*, without assuring you, that, whatever may be said of *Ommán*, and the *Scythian* colonies, who, it is imagined, was formerly settled there, I have met with no trace, in the maritime part of *Yemen*, from *Aden* to *Maskat*, of any nation who were not either *Arabs* or *Abyssinian* invaders.

Between that country and *Iran* are some islands, which, from their insignificance in our present inquiry, may here be neglected: and as to the *Curds*, or other independent races, who inhabit the branches of *Taurus*, or the banks of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, they have, I believe, no written language, nor any certain memorials of their origin. It has, indeed, been asserted by travellers, that a race of wanderers in *Diyábecr*, yet speak the *Chaldaick* of our Scripture; and the rambling *Turcmáns* have retained, I imagine, some traces of their *Tartarian* idioms: but since no vestige appears, from the gulph of *Persia* to the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, of any people distinct from the *Arabs*, *Persians*, or *Tartars*, we may conclude, that no such people exists in the *Iranian* mountains, and return to those which separate *Iran* from *India*. The principal inhabitants of the mountains called *Párfici*, where they run towards the west, *Parveti*, from a known *Sanscrit* word, where they turn in an eastern direction, and *Paropamisus*, where they join *Imaus* in the north, were anciently distinguished among the *Bráhmans* by the name of *Derados*, but seem to have been destroyed, or expelled, by the numerous tribes of *Afgháns*, or *Patans*, among whom are the *Balójas*, who give their name to a mountainous district: and there is very solid ground for believing that the *Afgháns* descended from the *Jews*; because they sometimes, in confidence, avow that unpopular origin, which, in general, they sedulously conceal, and which other *Muselmans* positively assert; because *Hazaret*, which appears to be the *Asareth* of *ESDRAS*, is one of their territories; and, principally, because their language is evidently a dialect of the scriptural *Chaldaick*.

We come now to the river *Sindhu*, and the country named from it. Near its mouths we find a district called, by *NEARCHUS*, in his journal, *Sangada*; which *M. D'ANVILLE* justly supposes to be the seat of the *Sanganians*, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned

by

by modern travellers, and well known at present by our countrymen in the West of *India*. Mr. MALET, now resident at *Púna*, on the part of the British government, procured, at my request, the *Sanganian* letters, which are a sort of *Nágarì*, and a specimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other *Indian* dialects, from the *Sanſcrit*: nor can I doubt, from the descriptions which I have received of their persons and manners, that they are *Pámeras*, as the *Bráhmans* call them, or outcast *Hindus*, immemorably separated from the rest of the nation. It seems agreed, that the singular people called *Egyptians*, and, by corruption, *Gypsies*, passed the *Mediterranean* immediately from *Egypt*; and their motley language, of which Mr. GRELLMAN exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains so many *Sanſcrit* words, that their *Indian* origin can hardly be doubted. The authenticity of that vocabulary seems established by a multitude of *Gypsy* words, as *angár*, charcoal; *cáshth*, wood; *pár*, a bank; *bbú*, earth; and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of *Hindustán*, though we know them to be pure *Sanſcrit*, scarce changed in a single letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, suggested to me, that those very words might have been taken from old *Egyptian*; and that the *Gypsies* were *Troglodytes* from the rocks near *Thebes*, where a race of banditti still resemble them in their habits and features: but, as we have no other evidence of so strong an affinity between the popular dialects of old *Egypt* and *India*, it seems more probable, that the *Gypsies*, whom the *Italians* call *Zingaros*, and *Zinganos*, were no other than *Zinganians*, as M. D'ANVILLE also writes the word, who might, in some piratical expedition, have landed on the coast of *Arabia*, or *Africa*, whence they might have rambled to *Egypt*, and at length have migrated, or been driven into *Europe*. To the kindness of Mr. MALET I am also indebted for an account of the *Boras*; a remarkable

race

race of men, inhabiting chiefly the cities of *Gujarât*, who, though *Muselmans* in religion, are *Jews* in features, genius, and manners: they form in all places a distinct fraternity, and are every where noted for address in bargaining, for minute thrift, and constant attention to lucre, but profess total ignorance of their origin: though it seems probable, that they came first with their brethren, the *Afghans*, to the borders of *India*, where they learned in time to prefer a gainful and secure occupation in populous towns, to the perpetual wars, and laborious exertions, on the mountains. As to the *Moplas* in the western parts of the *Indian* empire, I have seen their books in *Arabick*, and am persuaded that, like the people called *Malays*, they descended from *Arabian* traders and mariners after the age of MUHAMMED.

On the continent of *India*, between the river *Vipāsa*, or *Hypbafis*, to the west, the mountains of *Tripura* and *Cámarúpa* to the east, and *Himálaya* to the north, we find many races of wild people, with more or less of that pristine ferocity, which induced their ancestors to secede from the civilized inhabitants of the plains and valleys: in the most ancient *Sanscrit* books, they are called *Sacas*, *Cirátas*, *Cólas*, *Pulindas*, *Barbaras*, and are all known to *Europeans*, though not all by their true names: but many *Hindu* pilgrims, who have travelled through their haunts, have fully described them to me; and I have found reasons for believing, that they sprang from the old *Indian* stem; though some of them were soon intermixed with the first rambles from *Tartary*, whose language seems to have been the basis of that now spoken by the *Moguls*.

We come back to the *Indian* Islands, and hasten to those which lie to the south-east of *Silán*, or *Taprobane*; for *Silán* itself, as we know from the languages, letters, religion, and old monuments, of its various inhabitants, was peopled beyond time of memory by the

Hindu

Hindu race, and formerly, perhaps, extended much farther to the west, and to the south, so as to include *Lancà*, or the equinoctial point of the *Indian* astronomers: nor can we reasonably doubt, that the same enterprising family planted colonies in the other isles of the same ocean, from the *Malayadwîpas*, which take their name from the mountain of *Malaya*, to the *Moluccas*, or *Mallicás*, and probably far beyond them. Captain FORREST assured me, that he found the isle of *Bali* (a great name in the historical poems of *India*) chiefly peopled by *Hindus*, who worshipped the same idols which he had seen in this province; and that of *Madburà* must have been so denominated, like the well-known territory in the western peninsula, by a nation who understood *Sanscrit*. We need not be surprised that M. D'ANVILLE was unable to assign a reason why the *Jabadios*, or *Yavadwîpa*, of PROLEMY, was rendered in the old *Latin* version the isle of *Barley*; but we must admire the inquisitive spirit and patient labour of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whom nothing observable seems to have escaped. *Yava* means *barley* in *Sanscrit*; and though that word, or its regular derivative, be now applied solely to *Java*, yet the great *French* geographer adduces very strong reasons for believing, that the ancients applied it to *Sumatra*. In whatever way the name of the last-mentioned island may be written by *Europeans*, it is clearly an *Indian* word, implying *abundance* or *excellence*; but we cannot help wondering, that neither the natives of it, nor the best informed of our *Pandits*, know it by any such appellation; especially as it still exhibits visible traces of a primeval connection with *India*. From the very accurate and interesting account of it, by a learned and ingenious member of our own body, we discover, without any recourse to etymological conjecture, that multitudes of pure *Sanscrit* words occur in the principal dialects of the *Sumatrans*; that, among their laws, two positive rules concerning *sureties* and *interest*, ap-
pear

pear to be taken, word for word, from the *Indian* legislators NA'RED and HA'RITA; and, what is yet more observable, that the system of letters used by the people of *Rejang* and *Lampún*, has the same artificial order with the *Dévanágari*; but in every series one letter is omitted, because it is never found in the languages of those islanders. If Mr. MARSDEN has proved (as he firmly believes, and as we, from our knowledge of his accuracy, may fairly presume) that clear vestiges of one ancient language are discernible in all the insular dialects of the southern seas from *Madagascar* to the *Philippines*, and even to the remotest islands lately discovered, we may infer from the specimens in his account of *Sumatra*, that the parent of them all was no other than the *Sanscrit*: and with this observation, having nothing of consequence to add on the *Chinese* isles, or on those of *Japan*, I leave the farthest eastern verge of this continent, and turn to the countries now under the government of *China*, between the northern limits of *India*, and the extensive domain of those *Tartars* who are still independent.

That the people of *Pótyid*, or *Tibet*, were *Hindus*, who engrafted the heresies of BUDDHA on their old mythological religion, we know from the researches of CASSIANO, who long had resided among them; and whose disquisitions on their language and letters, their tenets, and forms of worship, are inserted by GIORGI in his curious but prolix compilation, which I have had the patience to read from the first to the last of nine hundred rugged pages. Their characters are apparently Indian; but their language has now the disadvantage of being written with more letters than are ever pronounced; for, although it was anciently *Sanscrit*, and polysyllabick, it seems at present, from the influence of *Chinese* manners, to consist of monosyllables, to form which, with some regard to grammatical derivation,

derivation, it has become necessary to suppress, in common discourse, many letters which we see in their books; and thus we are enabled to trace in their writing, a number of *Sanscrit* words and phrases, which in their spoken dialect are quite undistinguishable. The two engravings in GIORGI's book, from sketches by a *Tibetian* painter, exhibit a system of *Egyptian* and *Indian* mythology; and a complete explanation of them would have done the learned author more credit than his fanciful etymologies, which are always ridiculous, and often grossly erroneous.

The *Tartars* having been wholly unlettered, as they freely confess, before their conversion to the religion of *Arabia*, we cannot but suspect that the natives of *Eighúr*, *Tancút*, and *Khatà*, who had systems of letters, and are even said to have cultivated liberal arts, were not of the *Tartarian*, but of the *Indian* family; and I apply the same remark to the nation whom we call *Barmas*, but who are known to the *Pandits* by the names of *Bramachinas*, and seem to have been the *Brachmani* of PTOLEMY: they were probably rambling *Hindus*, who, descending from the northern parts of the eastern peninsula, carried with them the letters now used in *Ava*, which are no more than a round *Nágarì* derived from the square characters, in which the *Páli*, or sacred language, of BUDDHA's priests in that country, was anciently written; a language, by the way, very nearly allied to the *Sanscrit*, if we can depend on the testimony of M. DE LA LOUBERE; who, though always an acute observer, and, in general, a faithful reporter of facts, is charged, by CARPANUS, with having mistaken the *Barma* for the *Páli* letters; and when, on his authority, I spoke of the *Bali* writing to a young chief of *Aracan*, who read with facility the books of the *Barmas*, he corrected me with politeness, and assured me, that the *Páli* language was written by the priests in a much older character.

Let us now return eastward, to the farthest *Asiatick* dominions of *Russia*, and rounding them on the north-east, pass directly to the *Hyperboreans*, who, from all that can be learned of their old religion and manners, appear like the *Massagetæ*, and some other nations usually considered as *Tartars*, to have been really of the *Gothick*, that is, of the *Hindu* race: for I confidently assume, that the *Goths* and *Hindus* had originally the same language, gave the same appellations to the stars and planets, adored the same false deities, performed the same bloody sacrifices, and professed the same notions of rewards and punishments after death. I would not insist, with M. BAILLY, that the people of *Finland* were *Goths*, merely because they have the word *ship* in their language, while the rest of it appears wholly distinct from any of the *Gothick* idioms. The publishers of the Lord's prayer in many languages, represent the *Finnish* and *Lapponian* as nearly alike, and the *Hungarian* as totally different from them; but this must be an error, if it be true that a *Russian* author has lately traced the *Hungarian* from its primitive seat, between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine*, as far as *Lapland* itself; and since the *Huns* were confessedly *Tartars*, we may conclude, that all the northern languages, except the *Gothick*, had a *Tartarian* origin, like that universally ascribed to the various branches of *Sclavonian*.

On the *Armenian*, which I never studied, because I could not hear of any original compositions in it, I can offer nothing decisive; but am convinced, from the best information procurable in *Bengal*, that its basis was ancient *Persian*, of the same *Indian* stock with the *Zend*, and that it has been gradually changed since the time when *Armenia* ceased to be a province of *Irán*. The letters in which it now appears, are allowed to be comparatively modern; and though the learned editor of the tract, by CARPANIUS, on the literature of *Ava*, compares them with the *Páli* characters, yet, if they be not, as I should rather imagine, derived
from

from the *Pablavì*, they are probably an invention of some learned *Armenian* in the middle of the fifth century. MOSES of *Khoren*, than whom no man was more able to elucidate the subject, has inserted in his historical work, a disquisition on the language of *Armenia*, from which we might collect some curious information, if the present occasion required it; but to all the races of men who inhabit the branches of *Caucasus*, and the northern limits of *Irán*, I apply the remark, before announced generally, that ferocious and hardy tribes, who retire, for the sake of liberty, to mountainous regions, and form by degrees a separate nation, must also form, in the end, a separate language, by agreeing on new words to express new ideas; provided that the language which they carried with them, was not fixed by writing, and sufficiently copious. The *Armenian* damsels are said, by STRABO, to have sacrificed in the temple of the goddess ANAITIS, whom we know, from other authorities, to be the NA'HI'D, or VENUS, of the old *Persians*; and it is for many reasons highly probable, that one and the same religion prevailed through the whole empire of CYRUS.

Having travelled round the continent, and among the islands, of *Asia*, we come again to the coast of the *Mediterranean*; and the principal nations of antiquity, who first demand our attention, are the *Greeks* and *Phrygians*, who, though differing somewhat in manners, and perhaps in dialect, had an apparent affinity in religion, as well as in language. The *Dorian*, *Ionian* and *Eolian* families having emigrated from *Europe*, to which it is universally agreed that they first passed from *Egypt*, I can add nothing to what has been advanced concerning them in former discourses; and no written monuments of old *Phrygia* being extant, I shall only observe, on the authority of the *Greeks*, that the grand object of mysterious worship in that country, was the Mother of the Gods, or Nature personified,

sonified, as we see her among the *Indians* in a thousand forms, and under a thousand names. She was called, in the *Phrygian* dialect, MA', and represented in a car drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a towered coronet on her head. Her mysteries (which seem to be alluded to in the *Mosaick* law) are solemnized, at the autumnal equinox, in these provinces, where she is named, in one of her characters, MA'; is adored in all of them, as the Great Mother; is figured sitting on a lion, and appears in some of her temples with a diadem, or mitre of turrets. A drum is called *dindima* both in *Sanscrit* and *Phrygian*; and the title of *Dindymene* seems rather derived from that word than from the name of a mountain. The DIANA of *Ephesus* was manifestly the same goddess in the character of productive Nature: and the ASTARTE of the *Syrians* and *Phenicians* (to whom we now return) was, I doubt not, the same in another form. I may, on the whole, assure you, that the learned works of SELDEN and JABLONSKI, on the Gods of *Syria* and *Egypt*, would receive more illustration from the little *Sanscrit* book entitled *Chandî*, than from all the fragments of oriental mythology that are dispersed in the whole compass of *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *Hebrew* literature: We are told that the *Phenicians*, like the *Hindus*, adored the Sun, and asserted water to be the first of created things: nor can we doubt that *Syria*, *Samaria*, and *Phenice*, or the long strip of land on the shore of the *Mediterranean*, were anciently peopled by a branch of the *Indian* stock, but were afterwards inhabited by that race, which, for the present, we call *Arabian*: In all three, the oldest religion was the *Assyrian*, as it is called by SELDEN; and the *Samaritan* letters appear to have been the same at first with those of *Phenice*; but the *Syriack* language, of which ample remains are preserved, and the *Punick*, of which we have a clear specimen in PLAUTUS, and on monuments lately brought to light, were indisputably of a *Chaldaick* or *Arabick* origin.

The

The feat of the first *Phenicians* having extended to *Idume*, with which we began, we have now completed the circuit of *Asia*: but we must not pass over in silence, a most extraordinary people, who escaped the attention (as *BARROW* observes more than once) of the diligent and inquisitive *HERODOTUS*: I mean the people of *Judea*, whose language demonstrates their affinity with the *Arabs*; but whose manners, literature, and history, are wonderfully distinguished from the rest of mankind. *BARROW* loads them with the severe, but just, epithets of malignant, unsocial, obstinate, distrustful, sordid, changeable, turbulent; and describes them as furiously zealous in succouring their own countrymen, but implacably hostile to other nations: yet, with all the sottish perverseness, the stupid arrogance, and the brutal atrocity, of their character, they had the peculiar merit among all races of men under heaven, of preserving a rational and pure system of devotion, in the midst of wild polytheism, inhuman or obscene rites, and a dark labyrinth of errors, produced by ignorance, and supported by interested fraud. Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call, from their excellence, *the Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass, from all other books that were ever composed in any age, or in any idiom. The two parts of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance, in form or style, to any that can be produced from the stores of *Grecian*, *Indian*, *Persian*, or even *Arabian*, learning. The antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the untrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief, that they were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired; but,

if

if any thing be the absolute exclusive property of each individual, it is his belief; and I hope I should be one of the last men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others. I mean only to assume, what, I trust, will be readily conceded, that the first *Hebrew* historian must be entitled, merely as such, to an equal degree of credit, in his account of all civil transactions, with any other historian of antiquity. How far that most ancient writer confirms the result of our inquiries into the genealogy of nations, I propose to show at our next anniversary meeting; when, after an approach to demonstration, in the strict method of the old analysis, I shall resume the whole argument concisely and synthetically; and shall then have condensed in seven discourses, a mass of evidence, which, if brevity had not been my object, might have been expanded into seven large volumes, with no other trouble than that of holding the pen: but (to borrow a turn of expression from one of our poets) “for what
“ I have produced, I claim only your indulgence; it
“ is for what I have suppressed that I am entitled to
“ your thanks.”



*A Garrow Man,
in his War Dress.*

II.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE
INHABITANTS OF THE GARROW HILLS,*Made during a public Deputation in the Years 1788 and 1789;*

BY JOHN ELIOT, Esq.

IN the month of *September*, 1788, I was deputed by Government, to investigate the duties collected on the *Garrow Hills*, which bound the north-eastern parts of *Bengal*; and, to conciliate the good-will of the people, who had hitherto known no intercourse with *Europeans*, some scarlet cloth was given me by Government to be distributed to them.

The mountaineers who inhabit different parts of *India*, have been generally considered savages, equally unrestrained by law and morality, and watchful to take every opportunity of committing depredations on the low country, pillaging the inhabitants, and destroying their villages, whenever they could do so with impunity. At *Boglepore*, however, it has been proved, that the hill-people, by good treatment and encouragement, may be in a great degree civilized, and rendered at least peaceable and inoffensive, if not serviceable. My observation of the character and the conduct of the *Garrows*, has induced me to believe the same good consequences may be expected from encouraging them; but I propose to relate in plain language, what I experienced on my visit to them, and leave others to form their own judgment; and, as I am the first *European* who has travelled among them, I shall also add a few observations on the country, and on what attracted my notice as being in any respect peculiar.

On drawing near the hills, you have a beautiful sight of three ranges of mountains, rising one above another; but, on nearer approach, they vanish, except the *Gonassers*, the lower range, in appearance insignificantly small. The verdure and rich land, however, fully recompense the loss; and, turn your eye which way you will, you see something to cheer the mind, and raise the fancy, in the numerous small villages round about, protected from the heat by a variety of trees interspersed.

The first pass I went to was *Ghosegong*, situated on the west side of the *Natie* river. Here a great number of *Garrows* reside at the foot of the pass in three villages, *Ghosegong*, *Ghonie*, and *Borack*. The head people of the villages are called *Booneahs*, a name used by the head *Rájás* in *Bengal*, when the king resided at *Gour*. Whence they derived this name I could not learn; and many other things, which might lead to discoveries, escaped my knowledge from the want of a good interpreter.

OODASSEY BOONEAH is looked on as the head man of this pass at present, having most influence with his sect; but the rightful chief is *MOMEE*, a woman; and her power being, by established usage, transferrable by marriage to her husband, he ought, in consequence, to preside; but, from his being a young and silly man, the chiefship is usurped by *OODASSEY*, and his usurpation is submitted to by *MOMEE* and her husband. *OODASSEY*, however, is by no means a violent or artful man. He is far from possessing a bad disposition; is a mild man; and, by all accounts, takes great pains to do justice, and keep up unanimity with his people.

The village of *Ghosegong* is surrounded by a little jungle. On passing it, the village is opened to your sight, consisting of *Chaungs*, or houses, from about thirty to 150 feet long, and twenty or forty broad.

The *Garrows* are called, by the villagers, and upper hill people, *Couch Garrows*; though they themselves, if you ask them of what cast they are, will answer, *Garrows*, and not give themselves any appellation of cast; though there are many casts of *Garrows*, but with what differences I had not time to ascertain.

The soil is of a fine black earth, here and there intermixed with spots of red earth: its richness is plainly seen from the quickness of vegetation. The rice is in many places equal to the *Benares* long rice. The mustard-seed is twice as big as any produced in the pergunnahs of *Bengal*, where I have been; and the oil it produces is as superior to, as the size of its grain is greater than, any other. The hemp is equally good; but, as to its superiority to what may be produced in other pergunnahs, I am unable to speak with certainty: as far as I can judge from my own observation, the sort brought to the *Calcutta* market, is not equal to what is produced on the borders of the hills. The pasture for cattle may be classed next in quality to that of *Plassy* plain; and this I infer from its being generally known, that the *Sheerpoor* and *Sufung* ghee is nearly as good as that made at *Plassy*.

There are rivers at the several passes. Those of note are the *Natie*, *Mahareesee*, *Summasserry*, and *Mabadeo*. On the west side of the *Natie* is *Ghosegong*, and on the east the *Suffoor* pass. *Abrahamabad*, or *Bygombarry*, is on the east side of the *Mahareesee*; *Augbur*, on the east of *Summasserry*; and *Burradowarrab*, on the west of *Mabadeo*. These rivers are all of a sandy and gravelly bottom, with much limestone and iron. The *Mabadeo* has abundance of coals, the oil of which is esteemed in the hills as a medicine for the cure of cutaneous disorders, and is reputed to have been first discovered to the hill people and villagers by a *Fakeer*. The mode of extracting the oil is simple:

A quantity of coals are put into an earthen pot, the mouth of which is stopped with long grafs, by way of ftrainer. This pot is put into a large deep pan, perforated at the bottom, fo as to admit of the neck of the pot being put through it; the pan is fupported upon bricks, to prevent the neck of the pot from touching the ground, and alfo that a vefel may be placed under the ftrainer, as a refervoir for receiving the oil as it drops. The pan is filled with dry cowdung, which is ufed as fuel, and extracts the oil in the courfe of an hour.

There are but few forts of fifh in thefe rivers: turtle are to be had in great numbers, and are always confe- crated by facrifice before they are eaten. The hill people are, however, fully recompensed for the lofs of fifh in the rivers, by the great abundance they get from the neighbouring lakes.

A *Garrow* is a ftout, well-shaped man; hardy, and able to do much work; of a furly look; flat, *Cáfrí*-like nofe; fmall eyes, generally blue, or brown; forehead wrinkled; and overhanging eye-brow; with large mouth, thick lips, and face round and fhort: their colour is of a light or deep brown. Their drefs confifts of a brown girdle, about three inches broad, having in the center a blue ftripe; it goes round the waift, is paffed between the thighs, and is faftened behind, leaving one end, or flap, hanging down before, about eight inches: fometimes it is ornamented with brafs-plates; with rows of ivory, or a white ftone, fhaped like bits of tobacco-pipes, about half an inch long; the brafs-plate is made to refemble a button, or an apothecary's weight, but more indented: fome have it ornamented with little bits of brafs, fhaped like a bell. Some wear an ornament on their head, about three or five inches broad, decorated in the fame manner as the flap, ferving to keep their hair
off

off the face, which gives them a wild, fierce appearance. Some tie their hair on the crown, in a loose careless manner, while others crop it close. The *Booneabs*, or chiefs, wear a silk turban: to the girdle they affix a bag, containing their money and *pauns*; and also a net, for holding the utensils with which they light their pipe, hung near to it by a chain.

The women are the ugliest creatures I ever beheld, short and squat in their stature, with masculine faces, in the features of which they differ little from the men. Their dress consists of a dirty red cloth, striped with blue or white, about sixteen inches broad, which encircles the waist, and covers about three-fourths of the thigh. It never reaches to the knee, and being but just long enough to tie above on the left side, part of the left thigh, when they walk, is exposed. On their necks they have a string of the ornaments above described, resembling tobacco-pipes, twisted thirty or forty times round, but negligently, without any attention to regularity: their breasts are exposed to view, their only clothing being the girdle abovementioned: to their ears are affixed numbers of brass rings, increasing in diameter from three to six inches: I have seen thirty of those rings in each ear: a slit is made in the lobes of the ear, which increases from the weight of the rings, and in time will admit the large number stated. This weight is, however, partly supported by a string, which passes over their heads. A tape, three inches broad, ties their hair, so as to keep it back from their foreheads, though generally it is tied with a string on the crown of the head. The wives of the *Booneabs* cover their heads with a piece of coarse cloth, thirteen or fourteen inches broad, and two feet long, the end of which, with their hair, hangs down behind, flowing loose on their backs. The women work as well as the men, and I have seen them carry as great burthens. Their hands,

hands, even those of the wives of the *Booneaks*, bear evident marks of their laborious occupations.

These people eat all manner of food, even dogs, frogs, snakes, and the blood of all animals. The last is baked over a slow fire, in hollow green bamboos, till it becomes of a nasty dirty green colour. They are fond of drinking to an excess. Liquor is put into the mouth of infants almost as soon as they are able to swallow. They have various sorts of spirits, but that mostly drank is extracted from rice, soaked in water for three or four days before use. Their cookery is short, as they only just heat their provisions; excepting rice and guts, the first of which is well boiled, and the other stewed till they are black. Indeed, excepting these, their animal food is eaten almost raw.

In times of scarcity, many of the hill people subsist on the *Kebul*, which in growth is said to be like the *Palmira*; and the interior part of the *trunk*, when pounded and steeped in water, is an article of food, inasmuch as to be the common means of sustenance during a scarcity of grain. When boiled, it is of a gelatinous substance, and tastes, when fresh, like a sugar-cane; those who can afford it, mix rice with it. They also subsist on the *Kutchu*, a sort of *yam*, found in great plenty about the hills. I saw three sorts, though I could not learn they had any separate name. One has a number of buds on it, is said to be a cooling medicine, and is eaten boiled or baked. Some of them I brought with me from the hills, and being bruised in the basket used in bringing them from the hills, I cut off the rotten part, which I found to be of no detriment to their growth, although out of the ground. At *Dacca* I gave them to Mr. RICHARD JOHNSON, who, I understand, delivered them to Colonel KYD, the superintendant of the Company's botanical

nical garden, where, I hear, they have produced a very handsome flower. This plant was cultivated by the *Garrows*, nearly in the same manner as we do potatoes in *England*; a bud being broken off to be sown for a plant. The *Garrows* say it yields, after it is dug out of the ground, and laid by for the ensuing season of cultivation, (commencing immediately on the breaking up of the rains,) from three to ten buds. Another sort of *Kutchu* grows at the tops of the hills, and is found by its sprout, which twists itself round the trunk and branches of trees. I have seen the sprout from ten to twenty feet high: the leaves have three segments, like a vine leaf, but more pointed; of deep green, and very small. The root is found from a foot to two feet and a half below the ground, is in shape tapering, of a reddish colour, and in length from five inches to a foot and a half: it is eaten roasted. The other species grows in the same manner, but is of a dirty yellow colour.

The houses of these *Garrows*, called *Chaungs*, are raised on piles, about three or four feet from the ground, from thirty to 150 feet in length; and in breadth from ten to forty; and are roofed with thatch. The props of the *Chaung* consist of large *faul* timbers: in the center there are eight, and on the sides from eight to thirty; over these are placed, horizontally, large timbers, for a support to the roof, and tied fast, sometimes with strings; but string is rarely used for this purpose; the tying-work being mostly done with slips of grass or cane. The roof is neatly executed, and with as much regularity as any of our Bungalow thatches. When I say this, however, I speak of the *Chaungs* of the *Booneaks*: I went into few of the *Chaungs* of the lower class. The roof consists of mats and strong grass. The sides of the house are made from the small hollow bamboos, cut open, flatted, and woven as the common mats are. The floor is made in the same manner, but of a stronger bamboo. The

Chaung

Chaung consists of two apartments; one floored, and raised on piles, as described; and the other without a floor at one end, for their cattle: at the other end is an open platform, where the women sit, and work. On one side also is a small raised platform, usually about six feet square, inclosed at the sides, and open above: here the children play. In the center of the *Chaung* they cook their victuals, a space of about five feet square being covered with earth: on one side a little trap-door is made in the floor, for the convenience of the women on certain occasions, which creates much filth under their *Chaungs*. Indeed, a great part of their dirt is thrown under the *Chaung*; and the only scavengers I saw, were their hogs; but, luckily for them, they have plenty of those animals.

Bugs cover their wearing apparel, of the same sort as those which infest beds in England. During my journey along the hills, I suffered very much from them.

The disposition of a *Garrow* could not be accurately known in the short time I had to observe it; yet my intercourse with them, which was of the most open nature, will, I think, allow me to say something of it.

Their surly looks seem to indicate ill temper; but this is far from being the case, as they are of a mild disposition. They are, moreover, honest in their dealings, and sure to perform what they promise. When in liquor, they are merry to the highest pitch: then men, women, and children, will dance till they can scarce stand. Their manner of dancing is as follows: twenty or thirty men of a row standing behind one another, hold each other by the sides of their belts, and then go round in a circle, hopping on one foot, then on the other, singing and keeping time with their music, which is animating, though harsh and inharmonious.

harmonious, consisting chiefly of tomtoms and brass pans; the first generally beaten by the old people, and the last by the children. The women dance in rows, and hop in the same manner, but hold their hands out, lowering one hand, and raising the other, at the same time, as the music beats, and occasionally turning round with great rapidity. The men also exhibit military exercises with the sword and shield, which they use with grace, and great activity. Their dancing at their festivals lasts two or three days, during which time they drink and feast to an excess, insomuch that it requires a day or two afterwards to make them perfectly sober again; yet, during this fit of festivity and drunkenness, they never quarrel.

Marriage is in general settled amongst the parties themselves, though sometimes by their parents. If it has been settled by the parties themselves, and the parents of either refuse their assent, the friends of the opposite party, and even others unconnected, go, and, by force, compel the dissenters to comply; it being a rule among the *Garrows*, to assist those that want their help on these occasions, let the disparity of age or rank be ever so great. If the parents do not accede to the wish of their child, they are well beaten till they acquiesce in the marriage, which being done, a day is fixed for the settlement of the contract, or rather for a complimentary visit from the bride to the bridegroom, to settle the day of marriage, and the articles of which the feast shall consist, as well as the company to be invited; and they then make merry for the night. The invitations on these occasions are made by the head man of a *Chaung* sending a *paun* to the inhabitants of another *Chaung*, as they cannot invite one out of a *Chaung* without the rest: the man who carries the *paun* states the purpose for which it is sent; and the next day an answer is made, if the invitation be accepted, but not otherwise, as they never wish to give a verbal refusal; and, therefore, if nobody returns
the

the next day, the invitation is understood to be refused.

On the nuptial day, the parties invited go to the bride's house; it being the custom among the *Garrows* for the bride to fetch the bridegroom. When the wine, &c. are ready, and all the company arrived, they begin singing and dancing, and now and then take a merry cup; while a party of the women carry the bride to the river, wash her, and, on their return home, dress her out in her best ornaments; this completed, it is notified to the company, and the music ceases: then a party take up the wine, provisions, drums, pans, and a cock and hen, and carry them to the bridegroom's house in procession; the cock and hen being carried by the priest; after which, the bride follows, with a party of women, walking in the center till she arrives at the bridegroom's house, where she and her party seat themselves in one corner of the *Chaung*, near the door: the remaining visitors then proceed to the bridegroom's house, and the men sit at the further end of the room, opposite to the women: the men then again begin singing and dancing; the bridegroom is called for; but, as he retires to another *Chaung*, some search is made for him, as if he were missing, and, as soon as they find him, they give a shout: they then carry him to the river, wash him, return, and dress him in his war dress; which done, the women carry the bride to her own *Chaung*, where she is put in the center; and notice of this being brought to the visitors at the bridegroom's house, they take up the wine, &c. and prepare to go with the bridegroom, when his father, mother, and family, cry and howl in the most lamentable manner, and some force is used to separate him from them. At last they depart; the bride's father leading the way, and the company following one by one, the bridegroom in the center. On entering the bride's *Chaung*, they make a general shout,

shout, and place the bridegroom on the bride's right hand, and then sing and dance for a time, till the priest proclaiming silence, all is quiet; and he goes before the bride and bridegroom, who are seated, and asks some questions, to which the whole party answer *Nummah*, or *good**: this continues a few minutes, after which, the cock and hen being brought, the priest takes hold of them by the wings, and holds them up to the company, asking them some questions, to which they again reply *Nummah*: some grain is then brought, and thrown before the cock and hen, who being employed in picking it, the priest takes this opportunity to strike them on the head with a stick, to appearance dead; and the whole company, after observing them a few seconds, call out as before: a knife being then brought, the priest cuts the anus of the cock, and draws out the guts; and the company repeat *Nummah*; after which he performs the same operation on the hen; and the company give a shout, and again call out *Nummah*. They look on this part of the ceremony as very ominous; for should any blood be spilt by the first blow, or the guts break, or any blood come out with the guts, it would be considered as an unlucky marriage. The ceremony being over, the bride and bridegroom, drinking, present the bowl to the company, and then they all feast, and make merry.

I discovered these circumstances of the marriage ceremony of the *Garrows*, from being present at the marriage of LUNGREE, youngest daughter of the chief OODASSEY, seven years of age, and BUGLUN, twenty-three years old, the son of a common *Garrow*: and I may here observe, that this marriage, disproportionate as to age and rank, is a very happy one for BUGLUN, as he will succeed to the *Booneahship* and estate; for among all the *Garrows*, the youngest daughter is always

* I suspect the word to be *Namah*, or *salutation* and *reverence*. J.

ways heiress; and if there be any other children who were born before her, they would get nothing on the death of the *Booneah*. What is more strange, if BUG-LUN were to die, LUNGREE would marry one of his brothers; and if all his brothers were dead, she would then marry the father: and if the father afterwards should prove too old, she would put him aside, and take any one else whom she might chuse.

The dead are kept for four days; burnt on a pile of wood in a *Dingy*, or small boat, placed on the top of the pile; and the ashes are put into a hole, dug exactly where the fire was, covered with a small thatch building, and surrounded with a railing. A lamp is burnt within the building every night, for the space of a month or more. The wearing apparel of the deceased is hung on poles, fixed at each corner of the railing, which, after a certain time, (from six weeks to two months,) are broken, and then allowed to hang downwards till they fall to pieces. They burn their dead within six or eight yards of their *Chaungs*, and the ceremony is performed exactly at twelve o'clock at night; the pile is lighted by the nearest relation: after this they feast, make merry, dance and sing, and get drunk. This is, however, the ceremony to a common *Garrow*. If it be a person of rank, the pile is decorated with cloth and flowers, and a bullock sacrificed on the occasion, and the head of the bullock is also burnt with the corpse. If it be an upper hill *Booneah*, of common rank, the head of one of his slaves would be cut off, and burnt with him. And if it happen to be one of the first rank *Booneaks*, a large body of his slaves sally out of the hills, and seize a *Hindu*, whose head they cut off, and burn with their chief. The railed graves of *Booneaks* are decorated with images of animals placed near the graves, and the railing is often ornamented with fresh flowers.

Their

Their religion appears to approximate to that of the *Hindus*: they worship MAHADE'VA: and at *Baunjaun*, a pass in the hills, they worship the sun and moon. To ascertain which of the two they are to worship upon any particular occasion, their priest takes a cup of water, and some wheat: first calling the name of the sun, he drops a grain into the water; if it sinks, they are then to worship the sun; should it not sink, they then would drop another grain in the name of the moon, and so on till one of the grains sink. All religious ceremonies are preceded by a sacrifice to their god, of a bull, goat, hog, cock, or dog: in cases of illness, they offer up a sacrifice in proportion to the supposed fatality of the distemper with which they are afflicted; as they imagine medicine will have no effect, unless the deity interfere in their favour, and that a sacrifice is requisite to procure such interposition.

The sacrifice is made before an altar constructed as follows: two bamboos are erected, stripped of all their branches and leaves, except at the extremity of the main stem, which is left: a stick is fixed near the top of each, to which is tied, at each end, a double string, reaching to two side bamboos, about two feet out of the ground, with the tops split, so as to make a kind of crown: between the strings are placed bits of sticks of about a foot in height, at the distance of a foot from each other, or more, in proportion to the height of the bamboos. The cross sticks thus form a square with the perpendicular strings; and in every other square, cross strings are tied, beginning with the top square: round the bamboos a space of six or eight feet square is cleared, and covered with red earth; and in front, at the distance of about six or more feet, a square of two feet is cleared, in the center of which a small pit is dug, and spread over with red earth: at some distance from the altar, on the side nearest the hills, two split bamboos are bent into an arch, with
the

the ends in the ground, so as to form a covering; under this a small mound is raised, and a little thatched building erected over it, open at the sides, under which some boiled rice is placed. When thus much is prepared, the priest approaches the little pit, and the people assembled stand behind him. He then mutters something to himself; when the animal intended to be sacrificed is brought, and the head cut off by the priest over the pit, some holding the head by a rope, and others the body; if the head is not taken off at one blow, it is reckoned unlucky. The blood is collected in a pan, carried to the covered arch, with the head of the animal, and put by the side of the mound. A lighted lamp is then brought, and put near the animal's head, when the whole company bow to the ground, and a white cloth is drawn over the arch, it being supposed their god will then come, and take what he wants: a fire is also kept burning during the ceremony between the altar and arch. An hour after, the covering is taken off, the provisions therein placed, with the animal, are dressed for the company, and they make merry.

When a large animal is to be sacrificed, two slaves are put by the side of the pit, so as to place the animal's neck between them: a bamboo is tied under his neck to the slaves, to prevent his head from falling to the ground: he is then stretched out by ropes fixed to his legs, and his head is severed by the strongest man amongst them.

Their mode of swearing at *Gbosegong* is very solemn: the oath is taken upon a stone, which they first salute; then, with their hands joined, and uplifted, their eyes stedfastly fixed to the hills, they call on MAHADEV'A in the most solemn manner, telling him to witness what they declare, and that he knows whether they speak true or false. They then again touch the stone with
all

all the appearance of the utmost fear, and bow their heads to it, calling again upon MAHADEVÁ. They also, during their relation, look stedfastly to the hills, and keep their right hand on the stone. When the first person swore before me, the awe and reverence with which the man swore, forcibly struck me; my *Moherrir* could hardly write, so much was he affected by the solemnity. In some of the hills they put a tiger's bone between their teeth, before they relate the subject to be deposed: others take earth in their hand; and, on some occasions, they swear with their weapons in their hands. I understand their general belief to be, that their god resides in the hills; and, though this belief may seem inconsistent with an awful idea of the divinity, these people appeared to stand in the utmost awe of their deity, from their fear of his punishing them for any misconduct in their frequent excursions to the hills.

Their punishments consist mostly in fines. The *Booneabs* decide on all complaints, except adultery, murder, and robbery, which are tried by a general assembly of the neighbouring chiefs, and are punished with instant death. As the money collected by fines was appropriated to feasting and drunkenness, I wished to see if I could induce them to give over this mode of punishing; but they told me plainly, they would not allow me to interfere; yet, as I had been very kind to them, when a man was to be punished with death, they would let me know.

When any thing particular is to be settled, they all assemble in their war-dress, which consists of a blue cloth, (covering part of the back, and tied at the breast, where the four corners are made to meet,) a shield, and a sword: they sit in a circle, the sword being fixed in the ground before them. Their resolutions are put into immediate execution, if they relate to war;

war; if to other matters, they feast, sing, dance, and get drunk.

Their chiefs debate the subject of deliberation; and their wives, on these occasions, have as much authority as the chiefs. This I had an opportunity of seeing, when I settled the revenue they had to pay, having told them, they would be well protected from any oppression while under me; and that no more should be taken from them, than was finally settled. Some of the chiefs wished to pay an adequate sum, when MOMEE, wife to the principal chief, rose, and spoke, for some minutes, after which she asked me if I declared the truth to them, and on my replying in the affirmative, they agreed to the revenue I demanded. SUJANI, wife of another chief, then came to me, and told me, I had heard what she suffered from the oppression of the *Zemindars*, and begged, with tears in her eyes, that I would get justice done to her. I made a particular enquiry into her complaint, and made the *Darogah* of the pass restore her cattle: and so much confidence had they at last in me, that they requested I would make a fair division of their lands, which they would never suffer the *Zemindar* or his people to do.

Their mode of settling their proportions of payments, &c. is by sticks: each of the inferior *Garrons* places as many sticks in a pan as he can give of the article required: the whole are then counted, and the deficiencies made up by the *Booneaks*. All their accounts also are kept by sticks, as well as their agreements.

I have before said, on occasions of illness, a sacrifice is made to the deity. I endeavoured to find out what medicines they use, but I cannot say I have been successful in this material point: I imagine, however,

however, they must have some valuable plants, from the many great cures that appear to have been effected in wounds. The *neem* leaf seems to be much used in inflammations, and blue vitriol is applied to fresh wounds: this last medicine appears to have been introduced by the natives of *Bengal*. Charms and spells are common among the *Garrows*. The tiger's nose, strung round a woman's neck, is considered as a great preservative in child-birth; they aver it keeps off giddiness, and other disorders consequent on this event. A woman, for nearly a month before her time, is not permitted to stir out of her *Chaung*: six days after delivery, she and her child are carried to the river, and bathed.

The skin of the snake, called the *Burrawar*, is esteemed a cure for external pains, when applied to the parts affected.

Inoculation is common among the *Garrows*; but this appears to have been only of late years, and was introduced among them by JOYNARAIN, *Zemindâr* of *Sheerpour*, through the interference and recommendation of some of the hill traders, who having been in the hills at a time when the *Garrows* were afflicted with this fatal disorder, and dying without being able to assist themselves, persuaded the chiefs to send a deputation to the *Zemindâr*, and he sent them his family doctor, who is represented to have been very capable, and, by his skill, introduced inoculation among the *Garrows*; and this induced them to provide themselves yearly with an inoculator, whom they reward in the most liberal manner, and take as much care of, while he resides among them, as if he were their father. The inoculator is obliged to obtain from the *Zemindâr*, a *sunniud*, permitting him to go into the hills, and for which he pays a very handsome fee; but the *Zemin-*

dár is very cautious whom he permits to go into the hills to officiate on these occasions.

Among the *Garrows*, a madness exists, which they call transformation into a tiger, from the person who is afflicted with this malady walking about like that animal, shunning all society. It is said, that, on their being first seized with this complaint, they tear their hair, and rings from their ears, with such force as to break the lobe. It is supposed to be occasioned by a medicine applied to the forehead: but I endeavoured to procure some of the medicine thus used, without effect: I imagine it rather to be created by frequent intoxications, as the malady goes off in the course of a week or a fortnight: during the time the person is in this state, it is with the utmost difficulty he is made to eat or drink. I questioned a man, who had thus been afflicted, as to the manner of his being seized, and he told me he only felt a giddiness without any pain, and that afterwards he did not know what happened to him.

The language of the *Garrows* is a little mixed with the *Bengáli*: a few words of it I annex. I had made a tolerable collection for a vocabulary, but unfortunately I lost it, by one of my boats sinking in the *Berhampooter*.

| | |
|-----------|------------|
| To drink, | ring,bo. |
| eat, | cha,such. |
| bathe, | ha,boo,ah. |
| wash, | su,suck. |
| fight, | den,juck. |
| wound, | ma,juck. |

come,

| | |
|----------|------------------|
| come, | ra,ba,suck. |
| go, | ree. |
| call, | gum,ma. |
| fleep, | fee,suck. |
| run, | ca,tan,juck. |
| bring, | rap,pa. |
| fit, | a,jen,juck. |
| a man, | mun,die. |
| a woman, | mee,che,da,rung. |
| a child, | dooëë. |
| head, | fee,kook. |
| face, | moo,kam. |
| nose, | ging. |
| mouth, | chu,chul. |
| eye, | mok,roon. |
| ear, | ner,chil. |
| hair, | ke,nil. |
| hand, | jauck. |
| finger, | jauck,fee. |
| back, | bick,ma. |
| foot, | ja,chuck. |
| fire, | waul. |
| water, | chee. |
| house, | nuck. |
| tree, | ber. |
| rice, | my,run. |
| cotton, | caule. |
| hog, | wauck. |
| cow, | ma,shu. |

| | |
|---------|------------|
| wine, | pa,ta,ka. |
| salt, | foom. |
| cloth, | ba,ra |
| dog, | aa,chuck. |
| plenty, | gun,mauck. |
| good, | num,mah. |
| sword, | dig,ree. |
| shield, | too,pee. |
| grass, | cau,pun. |

At the foot of the hills reside a cast of people called *Hajins*; their customs nearly resemble the *Garrows*: in religious matters they partake more of the *Hindus*, as they will not kill a cow. Their habitations are built like the houses of the ryotts in general, but are better made, inclosed with a court-yard, kept remarkably neat and clean; the railing made of bamboos split, flatted, and joined together. The streets of their villages equal the neatness of their houses. The men are of a dark complexion, well made, and stout: their face nearly resembles the *Garrow*, though rather of a milder look: their dress is the same as that of the head peasants in *Bengal*, consisting of a *Dootee*, *Egpautah*, and *Pugree*, or waist-cloth, mantle, and turband.

The women are remarkably neat and clean: their dress consists of one cloth, made to go near twice round the body, and to hang in folds down to the ankle, covers their breasts, and passes under their arms, and the ends are tucked in as the waist-cloth of the natives of *Bengal*: their hair is tied on the crown; and they have ear-rings in the same manner as the *Garrow* women, but no neck ornament.

This

This is the sum of the observations which my short stay with the inhabitants of the *Garrow* Hills enabled me to make on their manners and customs. I have written separately, an account of my journey at the foot of the hills to the different passes where their trade is carried on, from which some further information may be derived of their conduct and character: but I am conscious that my remarks describe them but imperfectly; and found my only hope, of their proving acceptable, on the people to whom they relate having hitherto been wholly unnoticed: they may also perhaps lead to more accurate inquiries hereafter.

TO THE PRESIDENT.

DEAR SIR,

I Now have the pleasure to inclose a copy, written with a stylus on five palmyra-leaves, of the engraving on copper-plates preserved in the great Pagoda of *Conjevaram*. The language is the *Dé-vavánì*; and the character, *Dévanágarì*. Two persons only at this place can read and expound them. They contain an account of the division of lands, &c. in this country. Thus have I taken the liberty to trouble you with matters, which may, or may not, prove of consequence: they who are able to judge of them must determine. Should any good arise from these communications, my merit will be only that of the slave who digs from a mine the rough diamond, which others, of superior skill and capacity, cut and polish into its full lustre and value.

I am, DEAR SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Conjevaram,
April 7, 1791.

ALEXANDER MACLEOD.

20—35

मे राता वाद कन तर्ग ते राका हर रा नः सौतेध वतः सता द्वैते
 नष्ट यत्ना ते रा हस छा न्वैतैः। एष स व हसने दुष्प्रसन्नो ह्यन स कठो। फ
 सुपकेन गो वा चैर सा छा ग व छा ह्य ते प्ये न क ते व व वा रा सा र स र स
 छा र स न ना व हे। त प न रा प गा ता रे। सा वै त्रु पा रु स. वी। ते न
 त्तो क पा व टा स र सा ता न ग छा स्व ते। त क छा सा स न सा.
 ता रे व लु स न छा स ताः। रु ग स सा न प त्तु र्दे नो स स सा रा सा
 य पा रु षा। रा सा तः क वी दु र्गो ना प रु ते स स स प ता नु र्दे। त न्व क
 दु कं ता वृः सा कै छ पः सा ध ना प कः र ते न स छा ना प स. स। ए ए न छा
 ह। ए स्य टः तु पाः। त छो व ते ष ग छ लै व। स ना गु ना रे रा दे न। फ ला
 क ता पु षा ए त कै सा ना क ल प छ स।

III.

A ROYAL GRANT OF LAND

IN CARNATA;

COMMUNICATED BY ALEXANDER MACLEOD, Esq.

And translated from the Sanscrit by the President.

Prosperity attend you!
Adoration to GANE'SA!

S T A N Z A S.

1. **A**DORED be the God SAMBHU, on whom the city of the three worlds rested in the beginning as on its main pillar, and whose lofty head is adorned with a crescent, that kisses it, resembling the point of a waving *Chámara*!

N O T E.

The comparison is taken from the image of an *Indian* Prince, fanned by an officer, who stands behind him, with the tail of a *Chamara*, or wild cow, the hairs of which are exquisitely fine, and of a pale yellow tint. SAMBHU is MAHA'DEVA.

2. May the tusk of that boar, whose form was assumed in sport by HERI, when the raised earth was his gorgeous umbrella with *Hémádri*, (or the *Golden Mountain*,) for the ornament of its top, be a staff to keep you secure!

N O T E.

VISHNU, in his *third* incarnation, is allegorically represented as a boar, the symbol of strength, supporting our globe on his tusk, which is here compared to the staff of a *Ch'hatra*, or *Indian* umbrella. The *Ch'hatras* of rich men have an ornament of gold on their summits, called a *Calāsa*, to which the royal bard, who wrote the grant, compares the mountain *Suméru*, or the North Pole.

3. May the luminous body of that god, who, though formed like an elephant, was born of PA'RVA-TI,

ti, and is revered even by HERI, propitiously dispel the gloom of misfortune!

NOTE.

The bodies of the *Hindu* gods are supposed to be an *ethereal substance* resembling light; and GANE'SA, or the Divine Wisdom personified, is represented with the head of an *elephant*: his mother was the daughter of the mountain *Himálaya*. This couplet is in the style called *yamaca*, where some of the words have different meanings; but are applicable, in all of them, to the rest of the sentence: thus *Agajā*, or *mountain-born*, may signify the goddess PA'R VĀTĪ'; but it also means *not a female elephant*; and HERI, or VISHNU, may be translated a *lion*, of which elephants are the natural prey.

4. There is a luminary, which rose, like fresh butter, from the ocean of milk churned by the gods, and scattered the gloom from around it.

NOTE.

After the usual stanzas, called *mangalā*, or *auspicious*, we are presented with the pedigree of the donor, beginning with the Moon, who, in the *second* incarnation of VISHNU, was produced from the sea of milk. A comparison of the moon to *butter*, must seem ridiculous to *Europeans*; but they should consider, that every thing which the *cow* produces, is held sacred by the *Hindus*; and the simile is consistent with the allegory of a *milky ocean* churned by the deities.

5. The offspring of that luminary was BUDHA, or the Wise, with reason so named, from his unequalled acts of devotion, and eminent virtues. The son of BUDHA was PURU'RAVAS, by the force of whose arm the lives of his foes were destroyed. His son was A'YUS: his, NAHUSHA: his, the hero YAYA'TI, famed through the world in battle: and from him, by his happy consort, DE'VAYA'NI', came TU'RVASU, equal to a god.

NOTE.

This pedigree is conformable to the *Purānas*. BUDHA was probably an old philosopher and legislator, highly revered, while he lived, and supposed, after his death, to preside over the planet MERCURY; while his father (if that be not an astronomical fable) was conceived to be regent of the Moon: he gives his name, like the WODEN of the north, to the *fourth* day of the week. The original epithet of the last king, named in this verse, is *Vasunibha*, or *equal to a Vasu*; but the jingle of syllables, which the *Indian* poet meant as a beauty, is avoided in the translation. A *Vasu* is one of the *eight* divinities, who form a *gana*, or assemblage, of gods; and there are *nine* of those *ganas*.

6. In his family was born DE'VACI'JA'NI; and in his, TIMMA, a sovereign celebrated among those of equal descent, like VRISHNI among the children of YADU.

NOTE.

If *Tulavinda* be the true reading in the second hemistich, it must be the name of a kingdom: but we must beware of geographical errors, lest the names of countries which never existed should find their way into maps. YADU was another son of YAYA'TI; and CRISHNA descended from him through VRISHNI, whence the shepherd god is named *Yádava*, and *Várshnéya*.

7. From him sprang BHUCCAMA'JA'NI, a ruler, who cherished the world; a gem on the head of kings, not spreading terror around, but gleaming with undiminished brightness.

8. He lived with delight; and DE'VACI'NANDANA, the king who gave felicity to mankind, sprang from him, like the God of Love from the son of DE'VACI'.

NOTE.

CA'MADE'VA, or the God of Love, was born in one of his incarnations as the son of CRISHNA, whose real parents were DE'VACI' and VASUDE'VA: in that birth CA'MA took the name of PRADYUMNA, and was father of ANIRUDDHA, whose adventures with USHA' are the subject of a beautiful tale, and a very interesting drama.

9. In many places, of which *Ráméswara* was the first, renowned for various exertions of virtue, he distributed, as the law ordains, with a joyful heart, again and again, a variety of gifts around the shrines of the deities; attaining such fame on earth, that the inhabitants of the three worlds expanded it in triumphant songs.

NOTE.

Ráméswara, near the southern extremity of the Indian continent, received its name and sanctity from the *seventh* incarnation of VISHNU
in

in the form of RA'MA. This *ninth* couplet is written in a singular metre, with rhimes in the middle of each division :

Vividha fucritód *dámé' rámé'* swara pramuc'hé muhur,
Muditahrīdaya *st'háné' st'háné'* vyadhata yat'há vidhi
Vibudhaperitó *náná dāná* niyah bhuvi shódáfa,
Tribhuvanajanód *gítam sp'hítam* yafah punaruddhayan.

If *snáné'* be the correct reading, it means a sacred bathing-place : and if *shódáfa* be properly written at the end of the third line, it may imply, that the royal donations were made to *sixteen* temples ; or that the principal donations were *sixteen*.

10. He shone forth conspicuously, having rapidly bound the *Cávérì*, by raising a bridge over that receptacle of tumultuous waters ; and having, by the strength of his arm, made JI'VAGRA'HA captive in battle, he appointed that kingdom, of which the name begins with *Sríranga*, as the feudal territory of his prisoner, but subject to his own dominions paramount : he was praised, even to the end of his career, by the three peopled worlds, who heard the whole extent of his fame.

NOTE.

JI'VAGRA'HA seems to be the proper name of a prince whose dominions lay beyond the *Cávérì* : the word means the *Seizer of Life*. Among the many epithets of the god SIVA, we find RANGA ; and *Sríranga-pattan*, or a city dedicated to him, is the capital of *Mahéswar*, so called from another name of the deity. Those appellations are in some measure preserved to this day : but the ancient name of *Travancore* was *Mallára*.

11. Having conquered the regions of *Chéra*, *Chóla*, and *Pánjya*, subdued the king MADHURIVALLABHA, whose chief ornament was his loftiness of mind, taken VI'RYO'DAGRA prisoner, vanquished the king GAJAPETI, or Lord of Elephants, and other sovereigns, he became universally celebrated from the northern banks of *Gangà* to *Lancà*, (the equinoctial point,) from the verge of the first, or eastern, to that of the last, or western mountain, and placed his awful behest, like
a chaplet:

a chaplet of flowers, over the heads of the mightiest potentates.

NOTE.

Two *Bráhmens*, who perused this couplet, proposed to read *Pándya*, of which they had before heard, instead of *Pánjya*, which appears in the transcript. Had *Madhurá* been written instead of *Madhuri*, there could have been little doubt, that it meant one of the southern kingdoms: one of my *Pandits* thinks, that it means *Madura*.

12. From that chief of lion-like men, by two queens, TIPWA'JI' and NAGARA', as from DASARAT'HA by the divine CAUSALYA' and SUMITRA',

13. Sprang two valiant, yet modest, heroes, like the two princes RA'MA and LACSHMANA, named VIRANRISINHENDRA and CRISHNARAYA, both lords of the earth.

14. The famed VIRANRISINHA, having taken his seat in *Vijayanagar*, on a throne blazing with gems, far surpassed in glory and policy, the ancient kings NRIGA, NALA, NAHUSHA, and, consequently, all other monarchs on earth: from the southern bridge to *Suméru*, the mountain beautifully extended on this globe, and from the eastern to the farthest extremity of the western hills, he dwelled in the hearts of mankind, and governed his realms with mild sway.

NOTE.

All the kings named in the three preceding stanzas, are celebrated in the heroick poems of *India*; and *Vijayanagar*, or the *City of Conquest*, is very generally known. The epithet *avanisutanutah*, which, if it be the *fifth* case, agrees with *Sumeru*, may agree, in the *first* case, with the hero, and signify *applauded by the son of the earth*; that is, by MANGALA, or the planet MARS, who gives his name to the *third* day of the *Indian* and *Gothick* weeks. TRIVEDI SERVO'RU contends, that it means, *praised by the sons of the earth, or by all men born on it*.

15. He offered many presents in the Golden Court, in the temple of the three-eyed God, in the city of him whom CA'LAHASTI' owns as her lord, on the mountain *Vencata*, in *Cáncbì*, on the two mountains of *Srì* and *Sóna*, in the great shrine of HERIHERA, at

Ságarasangama, Sríringa, Cumbhacóna, Niverti, and Mahánandi, that place of pilgrimage, by which the gloom of sin is dispelled.

16. At *Gócarna*, at RA'MA's Bridge, and in numberless places famed in this world for their virtue, the waters of the sea were dried by the dust scattered from the hoofs of his galloping steeds; and the earth herself was oppressed and disturbed by the god, who grasps the thunder-bolt, and who felt pain from the obstruction of the ocean, until multiplied force was restored to the world by the abundant streams of his immense liberality.

NOTE.

The holy places, enumerated in these two stanzas, are all well known to the *Pandits*, except *Niverti*: the correctness of the reading may, therefore, be suspected. *Hábala*, which my *Nágarí* writer pronounces to be *the name of a river*, and which one of my three *Pandits* knows to be a place of pilgrimage, appears on the palm-leaf; but *Sá-gara* is written above it. If two distinct places are intended, we find *sixteen* in all, agreeably to the *ninth* stanza. The first meridian of the *Hindus* passes through the city of *Ujjayini*, of which we know the position; but as *Lancá*, therefore, falls to the west of *Sílán*, which RA'MA's Bridge seems to mark as the kingdom of RA'VAN, the *Indians* believe that the island had formerly a much larger extent: and it has been asserted, that appearances between *Sílán* and the *Maldives* in some degree justify that belief. *Maldivé* is, most probably, a corruption of *Malayadwípa*, from the promontory of *Malaya* on the continent of *India*.

In the following verses, which I received from a venerable astronomer, *Cánchí* also appears in the first meridian; and *Ujjayini* seems distinct from *Abanti*, though some authors insist, that they are one and the same city.

Bhúmedhya réc'há canacádrilancá
medhyaast'hadéfáh cila vatfagulmau,
Cánchí, farah sannihitam, curúnám
cshétram tat'há pajjanicá pyabantí,
Sitáchalaschójjayiní che déva
canyá che róhítaca gargaratau.

“The places in the meridian line between the *Golden Mount* and *Lancá*, are *Vatfa*, *Gulma*, *Cánchí*, *Sannihitasarah*, *Curucshétrah*, *Pajjanicá*, *Abanti*, *Sitáchala*, *Ujjayini*, *Dévacanyá*, *Róhítaca*, *Gargarát*.”

17. The gifts, which he spread around, were 1. A *Brahmānda*, or mundane egg; 2. A circle of the universe; 3. A vase representing the five elements; 4. A cow formed of gems; 5. A figure of the seven seas; 6. Two sprigs from the tree of ages; 7. A golden CA'MADHE'NU, or celestial cow; 8. A terrestrial sphere made of gold; 9. A chariot and horses of the precious metals; 10. A man's weight of gold; 11. A thousand images of Cows; 12. A golden horse; 13. An image of BRAHMA'; 14. A golden car; 15. A plough of gold, complete in its five parts; 16. A car drawn by elephants of the same metal.

NOTE.

If all this be not a wild poetical exaggeration, and if such presents were often made by the *Hindu* Princes, the *Moghols*, who soon after conquered most of the southern provinces, must have plundered the *Hindu* temples of immense treasures.

18. He was eminently wise, and ruled with undiminished magnificence; and when he ascended, with the cordial acquiescence of INDRA, to a celestial mansion, leaving behind him the reputation of a king, who resembled, in his great qualities, that ruler of the firmament;

19. Then the king CRISHNARA'YA, with irresistible power, bore the round earth on his arm like a bracelet of gems.

NOTE.

This Prince, the donor of the land, was probably the younger brother of VI'RANRISINHA, who died, it seems, without male issue.

20. The gods had apprehensions, in the beginning of time, that the glory of so great a monarch would rapidly diffuse one vast blaze over the universe, and leave them without marks of distinction: thence it was, that PURA'RI assumed a third eye in his forehead;

head; PEDMA'CSHA, four arms; ATMABHU', four faces; that CA'LI' held a cimeter in her hand; RA'MA, a lotos-flower; and VA'NI', a lyre.

NOTE.

The six names in the text are appellations of the gods MAHA'DE'VA, VISHNU, BRAHMA', and the goddesses DURGA', LACSHMI', SERESWATI': they signify, in order as they occur, the foe of *Pura* or *Tripura*, the Lotos-eyed, the Self-existing, Female Time, the Delightful, and Speech.

21. In the midst of his assembled foes, he darts a consuming fire kindled by his wrath. Oh! what said I? He dries up the series of seven oceans with the dust and sand of the whole earth trampled on by the cavalry of his numerous armies, and presently forms a new range of seas, blazing with his measureless glory, by the unbounded streams of those noble gifts, among which the first were a mundane egg, and a golden figure of *Meru*.

22. "May you long enjoy entire here below, the "felicity and wealth bestowed on you by me!" Thus blessing mankind, and well knowing the general obstacles to an ascent in the car of the sun towards the mansion of the gods, he distributed in all regions of the world, those obelisks which confer celebrity, and on which encomiastick verses are engraven by the Goddess of Abundance herself, that they might become the lashes of whips, to quicken the horses of the mountains.

NOTE.

The extravagant imagery in this couplet is connected with the old *Indian* custom of raising pillars to perpetuate the memory of great events, and with the belief of the *Hindus*, that the souls of good men pass through the sun to their seat of happiness. Although the *Columns of Victory*, as they are called, were monuments of kingly pride, or of courtly adulation, yet the poet insinuates, that the donor intended to facilitate a passage to heaven for those whom he had enriched on earth; and the mountains are animated, to become the horses of the sun's car, and to be lashed by the royal obelisks.

Other columns were erected, perhaps, as *Gnomons*; and others, possibly, to represent the phallus of ISWARA: but those called *Jayaṣṭambhas*, or *Pillars of Victory*, some of which remain to this day with metrical inscriptions, are most frequently mentioned by the ancient poets of India.

23. He proceeded continually, as the law prescribes, for the attainment of greatness and prosperity, to all terrestrial seats of the gods and places of pilgrimage, the first of which were *Cāncḥi*, *Srīśaila*, Mount *Sōna*, *Canacasabhā*, or the Golden Court, and *Vēncatādri*; where he dispensed many offerings, as a man's weight of gold, and the like, together with all the smaller oblations, which are specified in the *A'gama*.

NOTE.

The *A'gama* is a mysterious book, or set of books, part of which has been communicated to me by a *Sannyāsi* of *Mat'hurā*: it is so named, because it is believed to have come from the mouth of SIVA, as the *Vedas* proceeded severally from the four mouths of BRAHMA'. The same word means also the *Vēda*.

24. When he is enraged, he becomes a rod to punish guilty sovereigns: when he assumes the arm of SE'SHA, he acts as the chief preserver of this globe: he smiles with a placid cheek, when just princes address him; but rages in battle, when he relieves oppressed nations who ask his protection.

NOTE.

SE'SHA is the king of Serpents, the couch of VISHNU, and the symbol of Eternity. The measure of this rhimed couplet is dactylic, and each of its four divisions begins and ends with a similar sound; as,

Rōsha critah pretipārt'hiva danda
Tōsha cridart'hishu yò rana chanda.

25. Justly is he styled *Rājādbirāja*, since he is the supreme ruler of rulers, offering a mild check to the princes of *Mūru*, but filling other kings with terror.

NOTE.

NOTE.

The phrase *rāyaraganda* occurs both in this and in the preceding stanza. *Rāya* means a king, not in *Sanścrit*, but in a popular idiom; and the whole phrase may be a title in the vulgar dialect of *Carnāta*. It is here preceded by *Mūru*, which we shall find again towards the end of the grant, and which may, or may not, be the name of a country. Not one of the three *Pandits*, who were consulted on the meaning of the words *Mūru* and *Raganda*, could throw any light on them; except that *Mūru* is a territory, of which the derivative is *Maurava*.

26. He is a deliverer of those *Hindu* princes who act like beneficent genii, but a destroyer of those who rage like fierce tigers: thence he receives due praises, with the title *Virapratāpa*, or the glory of heroes, and other splendid epithets.

NOTE.

The word *Hindu* is applied likewise in a verse of CA'LIDA's to the original inhabitants of this country; but the *Pandits* insist, that it is not *Sanścrit*. Since the first letter of it appears to be radical, it cannot be derived from *Indu*, or the moon; but, since a sibilant is often changed into an aspirate, it has been thought a variation of *Sindhu*, or *Indus*. To that etymology, however, we may object, that the last consonant also must be changed; and that *Sindhu* is the name of a river, not of a people.

27. He is revered by the kings of *Anga*, *Benga*, *Calinga*, and others, who exclaim, "Look on us, "mighty potentate! Live, and conquer!"

NOTE.

Anga was the ancient kingdom of *Carna*, including the district of *Bhāgalapura*. To the east of *Gaura*, or the *Land of Sugar*, to which we give the name of *Bengal*, lies *Benga*, properly so named. *Calinga*, a word known to the *Greeks*, is the country watered by the *Gódāveri*.

28. Exalted with praises by the wise, the king CRISHNARA'YA sits on a throne of gems in *Vijayanagar*, surpassing, in the practice of moral virtue, NRIGA, and other monarchs: from the center of the eastern to that of the western mountain, and from *Hémādri* to the southern bridge, he shines with transcendent glory, dispensing riches and felicity through the world.

29. One

29. One thousand four hundred and forty-eight years of the *Sacábda*, or era established in memory of SA'LI'VA'HANA, being elapsed;

30. In the year *Vyaya*, in the month of *Pushya*, when the sun was entering *Macara*, in the dark fortnight, on the day of BHRĪGU, and on that venerable *tir'hi*, the tenth of the moon;

31. Under the constellation *Vísác'há*, at a time productive of good fortune, on the banks of the river *Tungabadrà*, near the temple of the God with three eyes;

NOTE.

The date of the grant follows the genealogy of the donor, and precedes that of the donee; after which comes a description of the land granted, and the religious tenure by which it was to be held. The *Sacábda* began in Y. C. 78, and the grant was made in Y. C. 1526, the very year in which BABUR took possession of *Delhi*; or 264 years ago: for, by the almanack of *Navadwipa*, the first of *Vaisác'h*, 1712 Y. S. answers to the 11th April, 1790 Y. C. The cycle of sixty is divided into sets of twenty years, each set being sacred to one of the three divine attributes; and *Vyaya* is the 20th year of the cycle, or the last in the part allotted to BRAHMA'. *Macar* is the sign of *Capricorn*; and *Pushya*, the 8th lunar mansion. BHRĪGU was the father of SUCRA, who presides over the planet *Venus*, and is properly named BHA'RGAVA; but the day of BHRĪGU means Friday.

32. That temple where priests, who have aimed at piety towards ISWARA as their only grandeur, and who shine only with the fame of eminent holiness, fix their heart on the godhead alone;

33. Him, who is an ornament of AGASTYA's race, and whose peculiar studies are the *Sác'hás*, or branches, of the *Yajurveda*; whose father was distinguished on earth in this age of *Cali*, or contention, by the surname of RA'YA;

34. Born in the family of TAMVA, SRI' AILLAPA BHATTA, surnamed *Sánc'byanáyaca*, or chief teacher

of the *Sánchya* philosophy, (thus men openly declare his name, his race, and his virtue;)

35. Him, the king, has appointed the dispenser of nectareous food even here below, to those pious students, and, in like manner, his sons and sons' sons, to an age without end.

NOTE.

AGASTYA was an ancient sage, now believed to preside over the star *Canopus*.

36. The land called *Sríjayacunda* by the inhabitants of the district of *Chóla*, that named *Méyitcóta* in the principality of *Chandragiri*; that known in *Ambinári* by the name of *Malacà*.

NOTE.

The couplets, containing a description of the land, are so indistinctly written, that the grammatical construction of them can hardly be traced. The first letter of *Méyitcóta* may belong to the preceding word; and an entire hemistich seems in this place to be omitted.

It may here be remarked, that this whole grant is conformable to the rules of YA'GYAWALCYA, in whose work we find the following verses :

Datwá bhūmin nibandhan vā crītwā léc'hyantu cārayét,
ágámibhādranripati perijnyánāya pārt'hiwab ;
Patévā támrapāttē vā swamudróperichihnitān
abhiléc'hyátmanò vānsyánátmánānchemahípetih.
Pretigrahaperimānān dānach'hédópawernānān,
swahastacālasampannam śāsānān cārayétst'hiran.

' Let a king, having given land, or assigned revenue, cause his gift
 ' to be written; for the information of good princes, who will succeed
 ' him, either on prepared cloth, or on a plate of copper, sealed above
 ' with his own signet: having described his ancestors and himself, the
 ' dimensions or quantity of the gift, with its metes and bounds, if it
 ' be land, and set his own hand to it, and specified the time, let him
 ' render his donation firm.'

37. Land, situated to the east of *Tirumâpêru*, *Câjô-maca*, and so forth, and the two villages *Cônâru* and *Côbila*;

38. Placed to the south of *Palapûrusa* and *Hulli*, and to the west of the town called *Parundar*;

39. To the north of *Bêrupû* and *Purapâcâ*, including the town which has the name of *Sivabhaêtapura*, or that of SIVA's adorers,

40. With another propitious name, derived from the four sacred hearths (*Chaturvêdi*) of the delightful *Chôla*; together with the charming town of *Gôvinda-pâri*;

41. Where eleven *Brâhmens* are to water one *Amra* tree, and to worship the God *RUDRA* by day and by night, after the prescribed acts of devotion;

42. And the smaller town, called *Chattupâcâ*, ever abundant in grain, inhabited by men eminently learned, in the great principality of *Paravîru*;

43. A place to be honoured by all, marked on all sides by four distinct boundaries; surrounded with rivulets, formed by good genii, the pebbles of which are like gems carefully deposited:

44. Viewed with delight by the distant eye, fit to be enjoyed by deities; graced with trees exquisitely beautiful; having the advantage also of ponds, wells, and pools of water with raised banks;

45. Frequented by officiating priests and attendants, with subdued passions and benevolent hearts; by deities of different classes, and by travellers who know the *Vêda*, and converse with copiousness:

46. All the land before mentioned has the great prince CRISHNADE'VA, worthy of reverence from the wise, given with serene joy, having first diffused a stream of gold, silver, and gems.

47. Such was the decree of CRISHNARA'YA, to whom belongs the whole earth celebrated by the royal bards; that bountiful king, who is the source of all the wealth possessed by the bards of *Múru*.

48. By the command of the great *Ráya* CRISHNADE'VA, the president of his council proclaimed this donation to MRIRA, or ISWARA; and his command is here engraved on plates of copper.

49. The artist *Sríz* VI'RANA'CHA'RYA, the son of MALLANA, wrote on copper this grant of the great prince CRISHNADE'VA.

50. As between a gift of land, and the confirmation of it by the successors of the donor, the confirmation is more meritorious than the gift: by the gift, a king attains a seat in heaven; by the confirmation, a seat from which he can never fall.

51. The confirmation of a gift by another prince, has twice the merit of a gift by himself; but the resumption of land granted by another, makes even his own gift fruitless.

52. He who resumes land given either by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, for successive births, through a period of sixty thousand years.

53. Land granted for virtuous purposes, is in this world the only sister of kings; and consequently must not be enjoyed by them, nor taken by them in marriage.

54. " This

54. “ This is the universal bridge of virtue for
“ princes, and must be repaired by you from time to
“ time.” Thus doth RA'MACHANDRA exhort, again
and again, the fovereigns of the earth, both those who
now live, and those who are to reign hereafter.

SRI' VIRU'PA'CSHA !

OR,

THE GOD WITH THREE EYES!

IV.

ON THE

MUSICAL MODES OF THE HINDUS:

Written in 1784, and since much enlarged.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

MUSICK belongs, as a *Science*, to an interesting part of natural philosophy, which, by mathematical deductions from constant phenomena, explains the causes and properties of sound, limits the number of mixed or *harmonick* sounds to a certain series, which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio which they bear to each other, or to one leading term; but, considered as an *Art*, it combines the sounds which philosophy distinguishes, in such a manner, as to gratify our ears, or affect our imaginations; or, by uniting both objects, to captivate the fancy, while it pleases the sense; and, speaking, as it were, the language of beautiful nature, to raise correspondent ideas and emotions in the mind of the hearer: it then, and then only, becomes what we call a *fine art*, allied very nearly to verse, painting, and rhetorick; but subordinate in its function to pathetick poetry, and inferior in its power to genuine eloquence.

Thus it is the province of the *philosopher* to discover the true direction and divergence of sound, propagated by the successive compressions and expansions of air, as the vibrating body advances and recedes; to show why sounds themselves may excite a tremulous motion in particular bodies, as in the known experiment of instruments tuned in unison; to demonstrate the law by which all the particles of air, when it undulates with great quickness, are continually accelerated and retarded; to compare the number of pulses in agitated air, with that of the vibrations which cause them; to
compute

compute the velocity and intervals of those pulses in atmospheres of different density and elasticity; to account, as well as he can, for the affections which musick produces; and, generally, to investigate the causes of the many wonderful appearances which it exhibits: but the *artist*, without considering, and even without knowing, any of the sublime theorems in the philosophy of sound, may attain his end by a happy selection of *melodies* and *accents* adapted to passionate verse, and of *times* conformable to regular metre; and, above all, by *modulation*, or the choice and variation of those *modes*, as they are called, of which, as they are contrived and arranged by the *Hindus*, it is my design, and shall be my endeavour, to give you a general notion, with all the perspicuity that the subject will admit.

Although we must assign the first rank, transcendently, and beyond all comparison, to that powerful musick, which may be denominated the sister of Poetry and Eloquence, yet the lower art of pleasing the sense, by a succession of agreeable sounds, not only has merit, and even charms, but may, I persuade myself, be applied, on a variety of occasions, to salutary purposes. Whether, indeed, the sensation of hearing be caused, as many suspect, by the vibrations of an elastic ether flowing over the auditory nerves, and propelled along their solid capillaments, or whether the fibres of our nerves, which seem indefinitely divisible, have, like the strings of a lute, peculiar vibrations, proportioned to their length and degree of tension, we have not sufficient evidence to decide; but we are very sure that the whole nervous system is affected in a singular manner by combinations of sound, and that melody alone will often relieve the mind, when it is oppressed by intense application to business or study. The old musician, who rather figuratively, we may suppose, than with philosophical seriousness, *declared the soul itself to be nothing but harmony*, provoked the sprightly remark of CICERO, that *he drew his philosophy from the art which*
he

be professed ; but if, without departing from his own art, he had merely described the human frame as the noblest and sweetest of musical instruments, endued with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy, alternately affecting, and affected by, the soul which pervades it, his description might, perhaps, have been physically just, and certainly ought not to have been hastily ridiculed. That any medical purpose may be fully answered by musick, I dare not assert; but after food, when the operations of digestion and absorption give so much employment to the vessels, that a temporary state of mental repose must be found, especially in hot climates, essential to health, it seems reasonable to believe, that a few agreeable airs, either heard or played without effort, must have all the good effects of sleep, and none of its disadvantages; *putting the soul in tune*, as MILTON says, for any subsequent exertion; an experiment which has often been successfully made by myself, and which any one, who pleases, may easily repeat. Of what I am going to add, I cannot give equal evidence; but hardly know how to disbelieve the testimony of men, who had no system of their own to support, and could have no interest in deceiving me. First, I have been assured by a credible eye-witness, that two wild antelopes used often to come from their woods to the place where a more savage beast, SIRA'JUDDAULAH, entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strains with an appearance of pleasure, till the monster, in whose soul there was no musick, shot one of them to display his archery: secondly, a learned native of this country told me, that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes, upon hearing tunes on a flute, which, as he supposed, gave them peculiar delight: and thirdly, an intelligent Persian, who repeated his story again and again, and permitted me to write it down from his lips, declared, that he had more than once been present, when a celebrated lutanist, *Mîrzâ MOHAMMED*, surnamed BULBUL, was playing to a large company

pany in a grove near *Shíráz*, where he distinctly saw the nightingales trying to vie with the musician, sometimes warbling on the trees, sometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wished to approach the instrument whence the melody proceeded, and at length dropping on the ground in a kind of extasy, from which they were soon raised, he assured me, by a change of the mode.

The astonishing effects ascribed to musick by the old *Greeks*, and, in our days, by the *Chinese*, *Persians*, and *Indians*, have probably been exaggerated and embellished; nor, if such effects had been really produced, could they be imputed, I think, to the mere influence of sounds, however combined or modified: it may, therefore, be suspected, (not that the accounts are wholly fictitious, but) that such wonders were performed by musick in its largest sense, as it is now described by the *Hindus*, that is, by the union of *voices*, *instruments*, and *action*; for such is the complex idea conveyed by the word *Sangíta*, the simple meaning of which is no more than *symphony*: but most of the *Indian* books on this art, consist accordingly of three parts, *gána*, *vádyá*, *nrítýa*, or *song*, *percussion*, and *dancing*; the first of which comprises the measures of poetry, the second extends to instrumental musick of all sorts, and the third includes the whole compass of theatrical representation. Now it may easily be conceived, that such an alliance, with the potent auxiliaries of distinct articulation, graceful gesture, and well-adapted scenery, must have a strong general effect, and may, from particular associations, operate so forcibly on very sensible minds, as to excite copious tears, change the colour and countenance, heat or chill the blood, make the heart palpitate with violence, or even compel the hearer to start from his seat with the look, speech, and actions, of a man in a phrensy. The effect must be yet stronger, if the subject be *religious*, as that
of

of the old *Indian* dramas, both great and small, (I mean both regular plays in many acts, and shorter dramatick pieces on *divine love*,) seems, in general, to have been. In this way only can we attempt to account for the indubitable effects of the *great airs*, and impassioned *recitative*, in the modern *Italian* dramas, where three beautiful arts, like the Graces united in a dance, are together exhibited in a state of excellence which the ancient world could not have surpassed, and probably could not have equalled. An heroick opera of METASTASIO, set by PERGOLESI, or by some artist of his incomparable school, and represented at *Naples*, displays at once the perfection of human genius, awakens all the affections, and captivates the imagination at the same instant through all the senses.

When such aids as a perfect theatre would afford, are not accessible, the power of musick must in proportion be less; but it will ever be very considerable, if the words of the song be fine in themselves, and not only well translated into the language of melody, with a complete union of musical and rhetorical accents, but clearly pronounced by an accomplished singer, who feels what he sings; and fully understood by a hearer, who has passions to be moved; especially if the composer has availed himself, in his *translation*, (for such may his composition very justly be called,) of all those advantages with which Nature, ever sedulous to promote our innocent gratifications, abundantly supplies him. The first of those natural advantages is the variety of *modes*, or *manners*, in which the *seven* harmonick sounds are perceived to move in succession, as each of them takes the lead, and consequently bears a new relation to the six others. Next to the phenomenon of seven sounds perpetually circulating in a geometrical progression, according to the length of the strings, or the number of their vibrations, every ear must be sensible, that two of the seven intervals in the complete series, or octave, whether we consider it

it as placed in a circular form, or in a right line with the first sound repeated, are much shorter than the five other intervals: and on these two phenomena, the modes of the *Hindus* (who seem ignorant of our complicated harmony) are principally constructed. The longer intervals we shall call *tones*, and the shorter (in compliance with custom) *femitones*, without mentioning their exact ratios; and it is evident, that as the *places* of the femitones admit *seven* variations relative to one fundamental sound, there are as many modes which may be called *primary*; but we must not confound them with our modern modes, which result from the system of accords now established in *Europe*: they may rather be compared with those of the *Roman Church*, where some valuable remnants of old *Grecian* musick are preserved in the sweet, majestick, simple and affecting strains of the Plain Song. Now, since each of the tones may be divided, we find *twelve* femitones in the whole series; and since each femitone may, in its turn, become the leader of a series formed after the model of every primary mode, we have *seven* times *twelve*, or *eighty-four*, modes in all, of which *seventy-seven* may be named *secondary*; and we shall see accordingly, that the *Persians*, and the *Hindus*, (at least in their most popular system,) have exactly *eighty-four* modes, though distinguished by different appellations, and arranged in different classes: but since many of them are unpleasing to the ear, others difficult in execution, and few sufficiently marked by a character of sentiment and expression, which the higher musick always requires, the genius of the *Indians* has enabled them to retain the *number* of modes which nature seems to have indicated, and to give each of them a character of its own, by a happy and beautiful contrivance. Why any one series of sounds, the ratios of which are ascertained by observation, and expressible by figures, should have a peculiar effect on the organ of hearing, and, by the auditory nerves, on the mind, will then only be known by mortals, when they shall know

know why each of the seven colours in the rainbow, where a proportion, analogous to that of musical sounds, most wonderfully prevails, has a certain specific effect on our eyes; why the shades of green and blue, for instance, are soft and soothing; while those of red and yellow, distress and dazzle the sight: but, without striving to account for the phenomena, let us be satisfied with knowing, that some of the *modes* have distinct perceptible properties, and may be applied to the expression of various mental emotions; a fact which ought well to be considered by those performers who would reduce them all to a dull uniformity, and sacrifice the true beauties of their art to an injudicious temperament.

The ancient *Greeks*, among whom this delightful art was long in the hands of poets and of mathematicians, who had much less to do with it, ascribe almost all its magick to the diversity of their *Modes*, but have left us little more than the names of them, without such discriminations as might have enabled us to compare them with our own, and apply them to practice. Their writers addressed themselves to *Greeks*, who could not but know their national musick; and most of those writers were professed men of science, who thought more of calculating ratios than of inventing melody; so that whenever we speak of the soft *Eolian* mode, of the tender *Lydian*, the voluptuous *Ionick*, the manly *Dorian*, or the animating *Phrygian*, we use mere phrases, I believe, without clear ideas. For all that is known concerning the musick of *Greece*, let me refer those, who have no inclination to read the dry works of the *Greeks* themselves, to a little tract of the learned WALLIS, which he printed as an appendix to the Harmonicks of PTOLEMY; to the Dictionary of Musick by ROSSEAU, whose pen, formed to elucidate all the arts, had the property of spreading light before it on the darkest subjects, as if he had written with phosphorus.

rus on the fides of a cavern; and, laſtly, to the differtation of Dr. BURNEY, who paſſing ſlightly over all that is obſcure, explains with perſpicuity, whatever is explicable, and gives dignity to the character of a modern muſician, by uniting it with that of a ſcholar and a philoſopher.

The unexampled felicity of our nation, who diſſuſe the bleſſings of a mild government over the fineſt part of *India*, would enable us to attain a perfect knowledge of the oriental muſick, which is known and practiſed in theſe *Britiſh* dominions not by mercenary performers only, but even by *Muſelmans* and *Hindus* of eminent rank and learning. A native of *Cáſhán*, lately reſident at *Murſhedábád*, had a complete acquaintance with the *Persian* theory and practice: and the beſt artiſts in *Hinduſtan* would cheerfully attend our concerts. We have an eaſy acceſs to approved *Aſiatick* treatiſes on muſical compoſition, and need not lament with CHARDIN, that he neglected to procure at *Iſſabán*, the explanation of a ſmall tract on that ſubject which he carried to *Europe*: we may here examine the beſt inſtruments of *Aſia*, and may be maſters of them, if we pleaſe; or at leaſt may compare them with ours: the concurrent labours, or rather amuſements, of ſeveral in our own body, may facilitate the attainment of correct ideas on a ſubject ſo delightfully intereſting: and a free communication, from time to time, of their reſpective diſcoveries, would conduct them more ſurely and ſpeedily, as well as more agreeably, to their deſired end. Such would be the advantages of union, or, to borrow a term from the art before us, of *harmonious accord*, in all our purſuits, and, above all, in that of knowledge.

On *Persian* muſick, which is not the ſubject of this paper, it would be improper to enlarge: the whole ſyſtem of it is explained in a celebrated collection of tracts on pure and mixed mathematicks, entitled *Durratu'ltáj*,
 1 and

and composed by a very learned man, so generally called *Allâmi Shîrâzî*, or the *Great Philosopher* of *Shîrâz*, that his proper name is almost forgotten: but as the modern *Persians* had access, I believe, to *PRO-LEMY*'s harmonicks, their mathematical writers on musick treat it rather as a science than as an art, and seem, like the *Greeks*, to be more intent on splitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to shew their arithmetick, than on displaying the principles of modulation as it may affect the passions. I apply the same observation to a short, but masterly, tract of the famed *ABU'SI'NA'*; and suspect that it is applicable to an elegant essay in *Persian*, called *Shamsu'lâswât*, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface. It will be sufficient to subjoin on this head, that the *Persians* distribute their *eighty-four* modes, according to an idea of locality, into twelve *rooms*, twenty-four *recesses*, and forty-eight *angles* or *corners*. In the beautiful tale known by the title of the *Four Dervises*, originally written in *Persia* with great purity and elegance, we find the description of a concert, where four singers, with as many different instruments, are represented “modulating in twelve *makâms*, or *perdabs*, twenty-four “*shôbabs*, and forty-eight *gûshabs*, and beginning a “mirthful song of *HA'FIZ*, on vernal delight, in the “*perdah* named *râst*, or direct.” All the twelve *perdabs*, with their appropriated *shôbabs*, are enumerated by *AMR'N*, a writer and musician of *Hindustân*, who mentions an opinion of the learned, that only *seven* primary modes were in use before the reign of *PAR-VI'Z*, whose musical entertainments are magnificently described by the incomparable *NIZA'MI*: the modes are chiefly denominated, like those of the *Greeks* and *Hindus*, from different regions or towns; as, among the *perdabs*, we see *Hijâz*, *Irâk*, *Isfabân*; and, among the *shôbabs*, or secondary modes, *Zâbul*, *Nîshâpûr*, and the like. In a *Sanscrit* book, which shall soon be particularly

ticularly mentioned, I find the scale of a mode, named *Hijéja*, specified in the following verse: २

Māṇsagrāha sa nyāsō'c'bilō hijējastu jāyāknē.

The name of this mode is not *Indian*; and, if I am right in believing it a corruption of *Hijāz*, which could hardly be written otherwise in the *Nāgarī* letters, we must conclude, that it was imported from *Persia*: we have discovered then a *Persian* or *Arabian* mode with this diapason,

D, E, F*, G*, A, B, C*, D;

where the first semitone appears between the *fourth* and *fifth* notes, and the second between the *seventh* and *eighth*; as in the natural scale *Fa, sol, la, si, ut, re, mi, fa*: but the C*, and G*, or *ga* and *ni* of the *Indian* author, are variously *changed*; and probably the series may be formed in a manner not very different (though certainly there is a diversity) from our major mode of D. This melody must necessarily end with the *fifth* note from the tonick, and begin with the tonick itself; and it would be a gross violation of musical decorum in *India*, to sing it at any time, except at the close of day. These rules are comprized in the verse above cited; but the species of octave is arranged according to Mr. FOWKE's remarks on the *Vīnā* compared with the fixed *Swaragrāma*, or gamut, of all the *Hindu* musicians.

Let us proceed to the *Indian* system, which is minutely explained in a great number of *Sanscrit* books, by authors who leave arithmetick and geometry to their astronomers, and properly discourse on musick as an art confined to the pleasures of imagination. The *Pandits* of this province unanimously prefer the *Dā-módara* to any of the popular *Sangítas*; but I have not been able to procure a good copy of it, and am perfectly

fectly satisfied with the *Nárayan*, which I received from *Benáres*, and in which the *Dámódar* is frequently quoted. The *Persian* book, entitled *a Present from INDIA*, was composed, under the patronage of AAZEM SHA'H, by the very diligent and ingenious MIRZA KHAN, and contains a minute account of *Hindu* literature in all, or most, of its branches: he professes to have extracted his elaborate chapter on musick, with the assistance of *Pandits*, from the *Rágárnava*, or Sea of Passions; the *Rágaderpana*, or Mirror of Modes; the *Sabbávinóda*, or Delight of Assemblies; and some other approved treatises in *Sanscrit*. The *Sangítaderpan*, which he also names among his authorities, has been translated into *Persian*; but my experience justifies me in pronouncing, that the *Moghols* have no idea of accurate translation, and give that name to a mixture of gloss and text, with a flimsy paraphrase of them both; that they are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write *Sanscrit* words in *Arabick* letters; that a man, who knows the *Hindus* only from *Persian* books, does not know the *Hindus*; and that an *European*, who follows the muddy rivulets of *Muselman* writers on *India*, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of *Hindu* learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others. From the just severity of this censure, I except neither ABU'LEAZL, nor his brother FAIZI', nor MOHSANI FA'NI', nor MIRZA KHAN himself; and I speak of all four after an attentive perusal of their works. A tract on musick in the idiom of *Mat'burá*, with several essays in pure *Hindustáni*, lately passed through my hands; and I possess a dissertation on the same art in the soft dialect of *Panjáb*, or *Panchanada*, where the national melody has, I am told, a peculiar and striking character; but I am very little acquainted with those dialects, and persuade myself, that nothing has been written in them, which may not be found more copiously and beautifully expressed in the language, as the *Hindus* perpetually call it, *of the Gods*; that is of their ancient bards, philosophers, and legislators.

The most valuable work, that I have seen, and perhaps the most valuable that exists, on the subject of *Indian* musick, is named *Râgavibôdba*, or, *The Doctrine of Musical Modes*; and it ought here to be mentioned very particularly, because none of the *Pandits*, in our provinces, nor any of those from *Câsi*, or *Cashmîr*, to whom I have shown it, appear to have known that it was extant; and it may be considered as a treasure in the history of the art, which the zeal of Colonel POLIER has brought into light, and perhaps has preserved from destruction. He had purchased, among other curiosities, a volume containing a number of separate essays on musick, in prose and verse, and in a great variety of idioms: besides tracts in *Arabick*, *Hindi*, and *Persian*, it included a short essay in *Latin*, by ALSTEDIUS, with an interlineary *Persian* translation, in which the passages quoted from LUCRETIVS and VIRGIL made a singular appearance: but the brightest gem in the string was the *Râgavibôdba*, which the Colonel permitted my *Nâgari* writer to transcribe, and the transcript was diligently collated with the original by my *Pandit* and myself. It seems a very ancient composition, but is less old unquestionably than the *Ratnacâra* by SA'RNA GA DE'VA, which is more than once mentioned in it, and a copy of which MR. BURROW procured in his journey to *Heridwar*: the name of the author was SO'MA, and he appears to have been a practical musician, as well as a great scholar, and an elegant poet; for the whole book, without excepting the strains noted in letters, which fill the fifth and last chapter of it, consists of masterly couplets in the melodious metre called *Aryâ*: the *first*, *third* and *fourth* chapters explain the doctrine of musical sounds, their division and succession, the variations of scales by temperament, and the enumeration of modes, on a system totally different from those which will presently be mentioned; and the *second* chapter contains a minute description of different *Vînâs*, with rules for playing on them. This

book

book alone would enable me, were I master of my time, to compose a treatise on the musick of *India*, with assistance, in the practical part, from an *European* professor, and a native player on the *Vinà*; but I have leisure only to present you with an essay; and even that, I am conscious, must be very superficial: it may be sometimes, but, I trust, not often, erroneous; and I have spared no pains to secure myself from error.

In the literature of the *Hindus*, all nature is animated and personified; every fine art is declared to have been revealed from heaven; and all knowledge, divine and human, is traced to its source in the *Védas*; among which the *Sāmavéda* was intended to be sung, whence the reader or singer of it is called *Udgátri*, or *Sámaga*: in Colonel POLIER's copy of it, the strains are noted in figures, which it may not be impossible to decypher. On account of this distinction, say the *Bráhmens*, the *Supreme Preserving Power*, in the form of CRISHNA, having enumerated in the *Gítà*, various orders of beings, to the chief of which he compares himself, pronounces, that, "*among the Védas, he was the Sáman.*" From that *Véda* was accordingly derived the *Upavéda* of the *Gandbarbas*, or musicians in INDRA's heaven; so that the divine art was communicated to our species by BRAHMA' himself, or by his *active power* SERESWATI', the Goddess of Speech: and their mythological son NA'RED, who was, in truth, an ancient lawgiver and astronomer, invented the *Vinà*, called also *Cach'hapi*, or *Testudo*: a very remarkable fact, which may be added to the other proofs of a resemblance between that *Indian God* and the MERCURY of the *Latians*. Among inspired mortals, the first musician is believed to have been the sage BHERAT, who was the inventor, they say, of *Nátacs*, or dramas, represented with songs and dances, and author of a musical system which bears his name. If we can rely on

MIRZA KHAN, there are four principal *Matas*, or systems, the first of which is ascribed to ISWARA, or OSIRIS; the second to BHERAT; the third to HANUMAT, or PA'VAN, the PAN of *India*, supposed to be the son of PAVANA, the regent of air; and the fourth to CAL-LINA'T'H, a *Rishi*, or *Indian* philosopher, eminently skilled in musick, theoretical and practical: all four are mentioned by So'MA; and it is the *third* of them, which must be very ancient, and seems to have been extremely popular, that I propose to explain after a few introductory remarks; but I may here observe with So'MA, who exhibits a system of his own, and with the author of the *Náráyan*, who mentions a great many others, that almost every kingdom and province had a peculiar style of melody, and very different names for the modes, as well as a different arrangement and enumeration of them.

The two phenomena which have already been stated as the foundation of musical modes, could not long have escaped the attention of the *Hindus*; and their flexible language readily supplied them with names for the seven *Swaras*, or sounds, which they dispose in the following order; *shádja*, pronounced *sharja*, *rish-abba*, *gándhara*, *madhyama*, *panchama*, *dhaivata*, *nishá-da*: but the first of them is emphatically named *swara*, or the *sound*, from the important office which it bears in the scale; and hence, by taking the seven *initial letters*, or syllables, of those words, they contrived a notation for their airs, and at the same time exhibited a gamut, at least as convenient as that of GUINO: they call it *swaragrâma*, or *septaca*, and express it in this form:

Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni;

three of which syllables are, by a singular concurrence, exactly the same, though not all in the same places,
with

with three of those invented by DAVID MOSTARE, as a substitute for the troublesome gamut used in his time, and which he arranges thus :

Bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni.

As to the notation of melody, since every *Indian* consonant includes, by its nature, the short vowel *a*, five of the sounds are denoted by single consonants, and the two others have different short vowels taken from their full names: by substituting long vowels, the *time* of each note is doubled, and other marks are used for a farther elongation of them: the octaves above and below the mean scale, the connection and acceleration of notes, the graces of execution, or manners of fingering the instrument, are expressed very clearly by small circles and ellipses, by little chains, by curves, by straight lines, horizontal or perpendicular, and by crescents, all in various positions: the close of a strain is distinguished by a lotos-flower; but the time and measure are determined by the prosody of the verse, and by the comparative length of each syllable, with which every note, or assemblage of notes, respectively corresponds. If I understand the native musicians, they have not only the *chromatick*, but even the second, or new, *enharmonick*, genus; for they unanimously reckon twenty-two *śrutis*, or quarters and thirds of a tone, in their octave: they do not pretend that those minute intervals are mathematically equal, but consider them as equal in practice, and allot them to the several notes in the following order: to *sa*, *ma*, and *pa*, four; to *ri* and *dha*, three; to *ga* and *ni*, two; giving very smooth and significant names to each *śruti*. Their original scale, therefore, stands thus :

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| <i>Sa,</i> | <i>ri,</i> | <i>ga,</i> | <i>ma,</i> | <i>pa,</i> | <i>dha,</i> | <i>ni,</i> | <i>sa.</i> |
| ⏟ | | ⏟ | | ⏟ | | ⏟ | |
| 4ś | 3ś | 2ś | 4ś | 4ś | 3ś | 2ś | |

The

The semitones, accordingly, are placed as in our diatonick scale: the intervals between the fourth and fifth, and between the first and second, are major tones; but that between the fifth and sixth, which is minor in our scale, appears to be major in theirs; and the two scales are made to coincide by taking a *śruti* from *pa*, and adding it to *dha*; or, in the language of *Indian* artists, by raising *Servaretnà* to the class of *Sántá* and her sisters; for every *śruti* they consider as a little nymph; and the nymphs of *Panchama*, or the fifth note, are *Málini*, *Chapalá*, *Lólá*, and *Servaretnà*; while *Sántá* and her two sisters regularly belong to *Dhaivata*: such at least is the system of *Co'HALA*, one of the ancient bards, who has left a treatise on musick.

So'MA seems to admit, that a quarter or third of a tone cannot be separately and distinctly heard from the *Vínà*; but he takes for granted, that its effect is very perceptible in their arrangement of modes; and their sixth, I imagine, is almost universally diminished by one *śruti*; for he only mentions two modes, in which all the seven notes are *unaltered*. I tried in vain to discover any difference in practice between the *Indian* scale and that of our own; but, knowing my ear to be very insufficiently exercised, I requested a *German* professor of musick to accompany with his violin a *Hindu* lutanist, who sung *by note* some popular airs on the loves of *CRISHNA* and *RA'DHA*: he assured me, that the scales were the same: and Mr. SHORE afterwards informed me, that, when the voice of a native singer was in tune with his harpsichord, he found the *Hindu* series of seven notes to ascend, like ours, by a sharp third,

For the construction and character of the *Vínà*, I must refer you to the very accurate and valuable paper of Mr. FOWKE in the First Volume of your Transactions; and I now exhibit a scale of its finger-board, which

Scale of the Fingerboard of the VINA, reduced $\frac{3}{4}$ th, the whole being 21 inches & $\frac{6}{8}$ th in length, from the Nut to the highest Fret.

| The open Wire R | Frets | The Nut | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|---------|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|--|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | |
| | | ma | pa | dha | dha | ni | ni | sa | ri | ri | ga | ga | ma | ma | pa | dha | dha | ni | sa | ri | |
| | | d | e | f | f* | g | g* | A | b ^b | b | c | c* | d | d* | e | f | f* | g* | a | b | |

which I received from him with the drawing of the instrument, and on the correctness of which you may confidently depend : the regular *Indian* gamut answers, I believe pretty nearly, to our major mode ;

Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut :

and when the same syllables are applied to the notes which compose our minor mode, they are distinguished by epithets expressing the change which they suffer. It may be necessary to add, before we come to the *Rāgas*, or modes of the *Hindus*, that the twenty-one *mūrck'hanas*, which Mr. SHORE'S native musician confounded with the two-and-twenty *śrutis*, appear to be no more than *seven* species of diapason multiplied by *three*, according to the difference of pitch in the compass of three octaves.

Rāga, which I translate a *mode*, properly signifies a *passion* or *affection* of the mind ; each mode being intended, according to BHERAT'S definition of it, to move one or another of our simple or mixed affections ; and we learn accordingly, from the *Nārāyan*, that, in the days of CRISHNA, there were *sixteen thousand* modes, each of the *Gōpīs* at *Mat'burā* chusing to sing in one of them, in order to captivate the heart of their pastoral god. The very learned SO'MA, who mixes no mythology with his accurate system of *Rāgas*, enumerates *nine hundred and sixty* possible variations by the means of temperament ; but selects from them, as applicable to practice, only *twenty-three* primary modes, from which he deduces many others : though he allows that, by a diversity of ornament, and by various contrivances, the *Rāgas* might, like the waves of the sea, be multiplied to an infinite number. We have already observed, that *eighty-four modes*, or *manners*, might naturally be formed, by giving the lead to each of our *twelve sounds*, and varying, in *seven* different

1

ways,

ways, the position of the semitones; but, since many of those modes would be insufferable in practice, and some would have no character sufficiently marked, the *Indians* appear to have retained with predilection, the number indicated by nature, and to have enforced their system by two powerful aids, the *association of ideas*, and the *mutilation of the regular scales*.

Whether it had occurred to the *Hindu* musicians, that the velocity or slowness of sounds must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarefaction and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn, and much quicker than in winter, I cannot assure myself; but am persuaded, that their primary modes, in the system ascribed to PA'VANA, were first arranged according to the number of *Indian* seasons.

The year is distributed by the *Hindus* into six *rîtus*, or seasons, each consisting of two months; and the first season, according to the *Amaroosha*, began with *Mârgas'îrsha*, near the time of the winter solstice, to which month accordingly we see CRISHNA compared in the *Gîtâ*; but the old lunar year began, I believe, with *A'swina*, or near the autumnal equinox, when the moon was at the full in the first mansion: hence the musical season, which takes the lead, includes the months of *A'swin* and *Cârtic*, and bears the name of *Sarâd*, corresponding with part of our autumn: the next in order are *Hémanta* and *Sisîra*, derived from words which signify *frost* and *dew*: then come *Vasanta*, or spring, called also *Surabhi*, or fragrant, and *Pushpa-samaya*, or the flower time; *Grîshma*, or heat; and *Vershâ*, or the season of rain. By appropriating a different mode to each of the different seasons, the artists of *India* connected certain strains with certain ideas, and were able to recal the memory of autumnal merriment at the close of the harvest, or of separation

2

and

and melancholy (very different from our ideas at *Calcutta*) during the cold months; of reviving hilarity on the appearance of blossoms; and complete vernal delight in the month of *Madhu*, or *honey*; of languor during the dry heats, and of refreshment by the first rains, which cause in this climate a second spring. Yet farther: since the lunar year, by which festivals and superstitious duties are constantly regulated, proceeds concurrently with the solar year, to which the seasons are necessarily referred, *devotion* comes also to the aid of musick, and all the *powers of nature*, which are allegorically worshipped as gods and goddesses on their several holidays, contribute to the influence of song on minds naturally susceptible of religious emotions. Hence it was, I imagine, that PA'VAN, or the inventor of his musical system, reduced the number of original modes from *seven* to *six*; but even this was not enough for his purpose; and he had recourse to the *five* principal divisions of the day, which are the *morning*, *noon*, and *evening*, called *trisandhya*, with two intervals between them, or the *forenoon* and *afternoon*: by adding *two* divisions, or intervals, of the night, and by leaving one species of melody without any such restriction, SO'MA reckons *eight* variations in respect of time; and the system of PA'VAN retains that number also in the second order of derivative modes. Every branch of knowledge in this country has been embellished by poetical fables; and the inventive talents of the *Greeks* never suggested a more charming allegory than the lovely families of the six *Rágas*, named, in the order of seasons above exhibited, BHAI'RAVA, MA'LAVA, SRI'RA'GA, HINDO'LA or VASANTA, DI'PACA, and ME'GHA; each of whom is a Genius, or Demigod, wedded to five *Ráginis*, or Nymphs, and father of *eight* little Genii, called his *Putras*, or Sons. The fancy of SHAKESPEAR, and the pencil of ALBANO, might have been finely employed in giving speech and form to this assemblage of new aërial beings, who people the fairy-land

land of *Indian* imagination; nor have the *Hindu* poets and painters lost the advantages with which so beautiful a subject presented them. A whole chapter of the *Nārāyan* contains descriptions of the *Rāgas* and their consorts, extracted chiefly from the *Dāmōdar*, the *Calāncūra*, the *Retnamālā*, the *Chandricā*, and a metrical tract on musick ascribed to the God NA'RED himself, from which, as among so many beauties, a particular selection would be very perplexing, I present you with the first that occurs, and have no doubt that you will think the *Sanscrit* language equal to *Italian* in softness and elegance:

Lílā viháréna vanántarálé,
Chinvan prasúnáni vadhú saháyah,
Vilási vésódita divya mūrtih
Srîrāga ésha prat'hitah prit'hivyām.

“ The demigod SRI'RA'GA, famed over all this earth,
“ sweetly sports with his nymphs, gathering fresh blos-
“ soms in the bosom of yon grove; and his divine li-
“ neaments are distinguished through his graceful ves-
“ ture.”

These and similar images, but wonderfully diversified, are expressed in a variety of measures, and represented by delicate pencils in the *Rāgamālās*, which all of us have examined, and among which the most beautiful are in the possession of Mr. R. JOHNSON and Mr. Hay. A noble work might be composed by any musician and scholar, who enjoyed leisure, and disregarded expense, if he would exhibit a perfect system of *Indian* musick from *Sanscrit* authorities, with the old melodies of So'MA applied to the songs of JAYADE'VA, embellished with descriptions of all the modes accurately translated, and with Mr. HAY'S *Rāgamālā*, delineated and engraved by the scholars of CIPRIANI and BARTOLOZZI.

Let

Let us proceed to the second artifice of the *Hindu* musicians, in giving their modes a distinct character, and a very agreeable diversity of expression. A curious passage from PLUTARCH'S Treatise on Musick is translated and explained by Dr. BURNLEY, and stands as the text of the most interesting chapter in his dissertation: since I cannot procure the original, I exhibit a paraphrase of his translation, on the correctness of which I can rely: but I have avoided, as much as possible, the technical words of the *Greeks*, which it might be necessary to explain at some length. “ We
 “ are informed, (says PLUTARCH,) by ARISTOXENUS,
 “ that musicians ascribe to OLYMPUS of *Mysia*, the
 “ invention of *enharmonick* melody, and conjecture,
 “ that, when he was playing diatonically on his flute,
 “ and frequently passed from the highest of four sounds
 “ to the lowest but one, or conversely, skipping over
 “ the second in descent, or the third in ascent, of that
 “ series, he perceived a singular beauty of expression,
 “ which induced him to dispose the whole series
 “ of seven or eight sounds by similar skips, and
 “ to frame by the same analogy his *Dorian* mode,
 “ omitting every sound *peculiar* to the diatonick
 “ and chromatick melodies then in use, but with-
 “ out adding any that have since been made essen-
 “ tial to the *new* enharmonick: in this genus, they
 “ say, he composed the Nome, or strain, called *Spon-*
 “ *dean*, because it was used in temples at the time of
 “ religious *libations*. Those, it seems, were the *first*
 “ enharmonick melodies; and are still retained by
 “ some, who play on the flute in the antique style,
 “ without any division of a semitone; for it was after
 “ the age of OLYMPUS, that the quarter of a tone was
 “ admitted into the *Lydian* and *Phrygian* modes; and
 “ it was he, therefore, who, by introducing an exqui-
 “ site melody before unknown in *Greece*, became the
 “ author and parent of the most beautiful and affect-
 “ ing musick.”

This

This method then of adding to the character and effect of a mode by diminishing the number of its primitive sounds, was introduced by a *Greek* of the Lower *Asia*, who flourished, according to the learned and accurate writer of the travels of ANACHARSIS, about the middle of the *thirteenth* century before CHRIST; but it must have been older still among the *Hindus*, if the system, to which I now return, was actually invented in the age of RA'MA.

Since it appears from the *Náráyan*, that *thirty-six* modes are in general use, and the rest very rarely applied to practice, I shall exhibit only the scales of the six *Rágas* and thirty *Ráginis*, according to SO'MA, the authors quoted in the *Náráyan*, and the books explained by *Pandits* to MIRZA KHAN; on whose credit I must rely for that of *Cacubbá*, which I cannot find in my *Sanscrit* treatises on musick: had I depended on him for information of greater consequence, he would have led me into a very serious mistake; for he asserts, what I now find erroneous, that the *graha* is the first note of every mode, with which every song, that is composed in it, must invariably begin *and end*. Three distinguished sounds in each mode are called *graha*, *nyása*, *anśa*; and the writer of the *Náráyan* defines them in the two following couplets:

Graha swarah sa ityuṣṭó yó gítádaṁ samarpítah,
Nyása swaraṣṭu sa próṣṭó yó gitádi samápticah:
 Yó vyaṣṭivyanjacò gánè, yasya servé' nugáminah,
 Yasya servatra báhulyam vády anśó pi nrípótamah.

“ The note, called *graha*, is placed at the beginning;
 “ and that named *nyása*, at the end, of a song: that
 “ note which displays the peculiar melody, and to
 “ which all the others are subordinate, that which is
 “ always of the greatest use, is like a sovereign, though
 “ a mere *anśa*, or portion.”

“ By

“By the word *vādi*, (says the commentator,) he means
 “the note which announces and ascertains the *Rāga*,
 “and which may be considered as the parent and
 “origin of the *graha*, and *nyāsa* :” this clearly shows,
 I think, that the *anśa* must be the tonick : and we shall
 find that the two other notes are generally its third and
 fifth, or the mediant and the dominant. In the poem
 entitled *Māgha* there is a musical simile, which may
 illustrate and confirm our idea :

Analpatwāt pradhānatwād anśasyēvētaraswarāh,
 Vijigīshōrnripatayah prayānti perichāratām.

“From the greatness, from the transcendent qualities,
 “of that Hero eager for conquest, other kings march
 “in subordination to him, as other notes are subordi-
 “nate to the *anśa*.”

If the *anśa* be the tonick, or modal note, of the
Hindus, we may confidently exhibit the scales of the
Indian modes according to SÓMA, denoting by an as-
 terisk the omission of a note :

| | | |
|--------------|---|------------------------------|
| BHAIRAVA : | { | dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa. |
| Varāti : | { | fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. |
| Medhyamādi : | { | ma, pa, *, ni, fa, *, ga. |
| Bhairavī : | { | fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. |
| Saindhavī : | { | fa, ri, *, ma, pa, dha, *. |
| Bengālī : | { | fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. |

| | | |
|---------------|---|------------------------------|
| MA'LAVA : | { | ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha. |
| Tōdī : | { | ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri. |
| Gaudi : | { | ni, fa, ri, *, ma, pa, *. |
| Gondācrī : | { | fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, *, ni. |
| Sūst'hāvatī : | { | not in SÓMA. |

Cacubhā : not in SÓMA.

SRIRĀ'GA :

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|------|------|
| SRIRA'GA: | { | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha. |
| Málavaśri: | { | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | pa, | * | ni. |
| Māravī: | { | ga, | ma, | pa, | * | ni, | fa, | * |
| Dbanyāśi: | { | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | pa, | * | ni. |
| Vasantī: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | * | dha, | ni. |
| Aṣaverī: | { | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|--------------|-----|------|------|-----|------|-----|
| HINDO'LA: | { | ma, | * | dha, | ni, | fa, | * | ga. |
| Rāmacrī: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| Désācshī: | { | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | * | fa, | ri. |
| Lelitā: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | * | dha, | ni. |
| Vélāvalī: | { | dha, | ni, | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | * |
| Patamanjarī: | { | not in SÓMA. | | | | | | |

DÍPACA: not in SÓMA.

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|
| Déśi: | { | ri, | * | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni, | fa. |
| Cāmbōdī: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | * |
| Nettā: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| Cédārī: | { | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha. |
| Carnātī: | { | ni, | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | pa, | * |

ME'CHA: not in SÓMA.

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|------|-----|-----|------|------|------|-----|
| Taccā: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| Mellārī: | { | dha, | * | fa, | ri, | * | ma, | pa. |
| Gurjarī: | { | ri, | ga, | ma, | * | dha, | ni, | fa. |
| Bhūpalī: | { | ga, | * | pa, | dha, | * | fa, | ri. |
| Désacrī: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |

It is impossible that I should have erred much, if at all, in the preceding table, because the regularity of the *Sanscrit* metre has in general enabled me to correct the manuscript; but I have some doubt as to *Vélāvalī*, of which *pa* is declared to be the *anśa*, or tonick,

tonick; though it is said in the same line, that both *pa* and *ri* may be omitted: I, therefore, have supposed *dha* to be the true reading, both MIRZA KHAN and the *Náráyan* exhibiting that note as the leader of the mode. The notes printed in *Italick* letters are variously *changed* by temperament, or by shakes, and other graces; but, even if I were able to give you in words a distinct notion of those changes, the account of each mode would be insufferably tedious, and scarce intelligible, without the assistance of a masterly performer on the *Indian* lyre. According to the best authorities adduced in the *Náráyan*, the thirty-six modes are, in some provinces, arranged in these forms:

| | | |
|--------------------|---|--|
| BHAIRAVA: | { | dha, ni, fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa. |
| <i>Varátì:</i> | { | fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, <i>pa</i> , dha, ni. |
| <i>Medhyamádi:</i> | { | ni, fa, *, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa, dha. |
| <i>Bhairavì:</i> | { | <i>fa</i> , *, <i>ga</i> , ma, *, dha, ni. |
| <i>Saindhavì:</i> | { | pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma. |
| <i>Bengálì:</i> | { | fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa, dha, ni. |

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| MA'LAVA: | { | ma, *, dha, ni, fa, ri, <i>ga</i> . |
| <i>Tódì:</i> | { | ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, <i>ga</i> . |
| <i>Gáudì:</i> | { | ni, fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, *, dha. |
| <i>Góndacrì:</i> | { | fa, *, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa, *, ni. |
| <i>Sust'hávatì:</i> | { | dha, ni, <i>fa</i> , ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, *. |
| <i>Cacubhà:</i> | { | not in the <i>Náráyan</i> . |

| | | |
|-------------------|---|--|
| SRÍRA'GA: | { | fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, <i>pa</i> , dha, ni. |
| <i>Málavafri:</i> | { | fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa, <i>dha</i> , ni. |
| <i>Máravì:</i> | { | fa, *, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa, dha, ni. |
| <i>Dhanyási:</i> | { | fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa, dha, ni. |
| <i>Vasantì:</i> | { | fa, ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa, dha, ni. |
| <i>A'sáverì:</i> | { | ri, <i>ga</i> , ma, pa, dha, ni, fa. |

HINDÓLA:

| | | | | |
|--------------|---|--------------|-----------------|----------|
| HINDÓLA: | { | fa, * | ga, ma, * | dha, ni. |
| Rámacrì: | { | sa, ri, | ga, ma, pa, | dha, ni. |
| Désáçshì: | { | ga, ma, pa, | dha, ni, fa, | * |
| Lelità: | { | sa, *, | ga, ma, pa, * | ni. |
| Vélávalì: | { | dha, ni, sa, | ri, ga, ma, pa. | |
| Patamanjarì: | { | pa, dha, | ni, fa, ri, ga, | ma. |

DÍPACA: omitted.

| | | |
|----------|---|------------------------------|
| Désì: | { | ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha. |
| Cámbódì: | { | fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. |
| Nettà: | { | fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. |
| Cédàrì: | { | omitted. |
| Carnàti: | { | ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha. |

| | | |
|----------|---|---------------------------------|
| ME'GHA: | { | dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa. |
| Taccà: | { | (a mixed mode.) |
| Mellàri: | { | dha, ni, *, ri, ga, ma, *. |
| Gurjarì: | { | omitted in the <i>Náráyan</i> . |
| Bhúpalì: | { | fa, ri, ga, *, pa, dha. *. |
| Dísacrì: | { | ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *. |

Among the scales just enumerated, we may safely fix on that of *SRI'RA'GA* for our own major mode, since its form and character are thus described in a *San scrit* couplet:

Játinyá fagrahagrámán'séshu shádjò' *lpapanchamah*,
Sringá ravirayó rjnéyah *Srîrágò gitacóvidaih*.

“ Musicians know *Srîrága* to have *sa* for its principal note, and the first of its scale, with *pa* diminished, and to be used for expressing heroick love and valour.” Now the diminution of *pa* by one *śruti* gives us the modern *European* scale.

ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut;

with a minor tone, or, as the *Indians* would express it, with three *śrutis*, between the fifth and sixth notes.

On the formulas exhibited by MIRZA KHAN I have less reliance; but, since he professes to give them from *Sanscrit* authorities, it seemed proper to transcribe them:

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|------|-----|------|-----|-----|------|-----|
| BHAIRAVA: | { | dha, | ni, | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | * |
| <i>Varāti:</i> | | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| <i>Medhyamādi:</i> | { | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga. |
| <i>Bhairavī:</i> | | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga. |
| <i>Saindhavī:</i> | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| <i>Bengālī:</i> | | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| MA'LAVA: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| <i>Tōdī:</i> | | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| <i>Gāūdī:</i> | { | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | * | dha, | ni. |
| <i>Gōndācrī:</i> | | ni, | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | pa, | * |
| <i>Sust'hāvatī:</i> | { | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | * |
| <i>Cacubhā:</i> | | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | * |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|------|-----|------|-----|-----|------|-----|
| SRĪRA'GA: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| <i>Mālavasrī:</i> | | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| <i>Māravī:</i> | { | fa, | * | pa, | ga, | ma, | dha, | ni. |
| <i>Dbanyāsī:</i> | | fa, | pa, | dha, | ni, | ri, | ga, | * |
| <i>Vasantī:</i> | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| <i>A'sāverī:</i> | | dha, | ni, | fa, | * | * | ma, | pa. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|
| HINDO'LA: | { | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | pa, | * | ni. |
| Rámacrì: | { | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | pa, | * | ni. |
| Désâcshì: | { | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni, | fa, | * |
| Lelitâ: | { | dha, | ni, | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | * |
| Vélâvalì: | { | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa. |
| Patamanjarì: | { | pa, | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|------|-----|------|-----|------|------|------|
| DÍPACA: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| Désì: | { | ri, | ga, | ma, | * | dha, | ni, | fa. |
| Cámbódì: | { | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa. |
| Nettâ: | { | fa, | ni, | dha, | pa, | ma, | ga, | ri. |
| Cédârì: | { | ni, | fa, | * | ga, | ma, | pa, | * |
| Carnâti: | { | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|------|-----|-----|------|------|------|-----|
| ME'GHA: | { | dha, | ni, | fa, | ri, | ga, | * | * |
| Taccâ: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |
| Mellârì: | { | dha, | ni, | * | ri, | ga, | ma, | * |
| Gurjarì: | { | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni, | fa. |
| Bhûpâlì: | { | fa, | ga, | ma, | dha, | ni, | pa, | ri. |
| Désacrì: | { | fa, | ri, | ga, | ma, | pa, | dha, | ni. |

It may reasonably be suspected, that the *Moghol* writer could not have shown the distinction, which must necessarily have been made, between the different modes, to which he assigns the same formula; and, as to his inversions of the notes in some of the *Râginis*, I can only say, that no such changes appear in the *Sanscrit* books which I have inspected. I leave our scholars and musicians to find, among the scales here exhibited, the *Dorian* mode of *OLYMPUS*; but it cannot escape notice, that the *Chinese* scale, C, D, E, *, G, A, *, corresponds very nearly with *ga, ma, pa, *, ni, fa, **, or the *Mâravî* of *So'MA*. We have long known in *Bengal*, from the information of a *Scotch* gentleman skilled

skilled in musick, that the wild but charming melodies of the ancient Highlanders were formed by a similar mutilation of the natural scale. By such mutilations, and by various alterations of the notes in tuning the *Vínà*, the number of modes might be augmented indefinitely; and CALLINÁ'T'HA admits *ninety* into his system, allowing *six* nymphs, instead of *five*, to each of his musical deities; for *Dípaca*, which is generally considered as a lost mode, (though MIRZA KHAN exhibits the notes of it,) he substitutes *Panchama*: for *Hindóla*, he gives us *Vasanta*, or the Spring; and for *Málava*, *Natanáráyan*, or CHRISHNA the Dancer; all with scales rather different from those of PA'VAN. The system of ISWARA, which may have had some affinity with the old *Egyptian* musick invented or improved by OSIRIS, nearly resembles that of HANUMAT; but the names and scales are a little varied: in all the systems, the names of the modes are significant, and some of them as fanciful as those of the fairies in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Forty-eight new modes were added by BHERAT, who *marries* a nymph, thence called *Bháryà*, to each *Putra*, or Son, of a *Rága*; thus admitting, in his musical school, an *hundred and thirty-two manners* of arranging the series of notes.

Had the *Indian* empire continued in full energy for the last two thousand years, religion would, no doubt, have given permanence to systems of musick invented, as the *Hindus* believe, by their Gods, and adapted to mystical poetry: but such have been the revolutions of their government since the time of ALEXANDER, that although the *Sanscrit* books have preserved the theory of their musical composition, the practice of it seems almost wholly lost (as all the *Pandits* and *Rájas* confess) in *Gaur* and *Magarha*, or the provinces of *Bengal* and *Behar*. When I first read the songs of JAYADE'VA, who has prefixed to each of them the name of the mode in which it was anciently

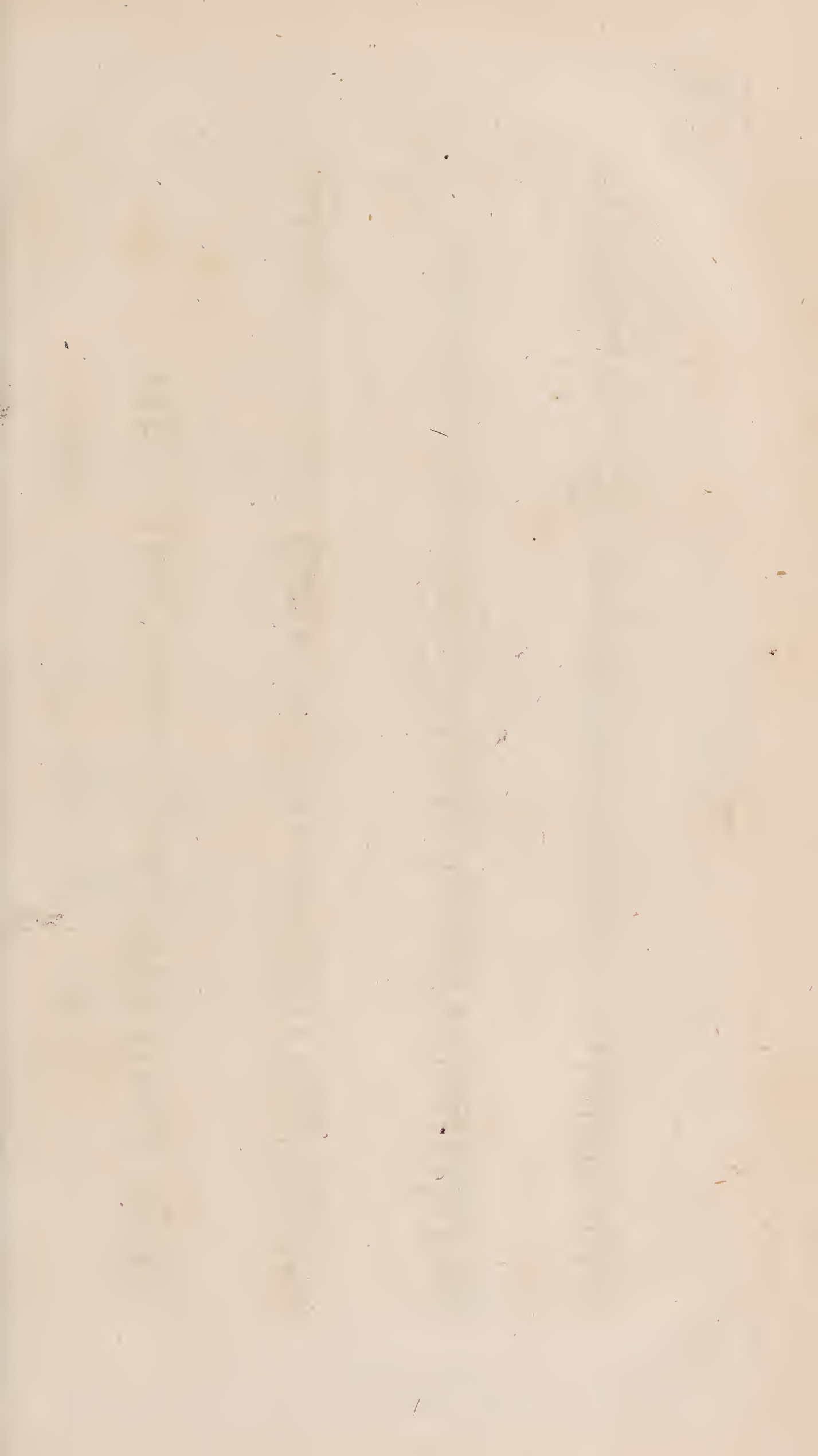
panied with the original notes: I selected the mode of *Vasanta*, because it was adopted by JAYADE'VA himself to the most beautiful of his odes, and because the number of notes in SÓMA compared with that of the syllables in the *Sanscrit* stanza, may lead us to guess, that the strain itself was applied by the musician to the very words of the poet. The words are

Lalita lavanga latá perisílana cómala malaya samiré,
 Madhucara nicara carambita cócila cújita cunja cutiré
 Viharati heririha farasa vasanté
 Nrityati yuvati janéna saman sac'hi virahi janasya duranté.

“ While the soft gale of *Malaya* wafts perfume
 “ from the beautiful clove-plant, and the recesses of
 “ each flowery arbour sweetly resounds with the
 “ strains of the *Cócila* mingled with the murmurs of
 “ the honey-making swarms, HERI dances, O lovely
 “ friend, with a company of damsels in this vernal
 “ season: a season full of delights, but painful to se-
 “ parated lovers.”

I have noted SÓMA's air in the major mode of A, or *sa*, which, from its gaiety and brilliancy, well expresses the general hilarity of the song; but the sentiment of tender pain, even in a season of delights, from the remembrance of pleasures no longer attainable, would require in our musick a change to the minor mode; and the air might be disposed in the form of a rondeau, ending with the second line, or even with the third, where the sense is equally full, if it should be thought proper to express by another modulation, that *imitative melody* which the poet has manifestly attempted: the measure is very rapid, and the air should be gay, or even quick, in exact proportion to it.

The following is a strain in the mode of HINDÓLA, beginning and ending with the fifth note *sa*, but want-
 ing



॥ म० रि० ग० म० ध० प० म० व० म० ग० म० म० ध० म० य० नि० ध० ध० नि० म० म० ॥

मं० मं० गं० रि० मं० नि० मं० नि० ध० म० य० ॥ म० य० नि० ध० ध० नि० मं० मं० मं०

नि० ध० प० म० व० ॥ म० मं० मं० मृ० ग० ग० रि० म० म० नि० ध० म० व० म० गं० म०

ध० प० म० म० व० म० गं० मं० मृ० ग० ग० रि० म० म०

दि० दौ० लि०

॥ म० ग० म० ग० म० य० ॥ म० य० नि० मं० गं० मं० गं० नि० मृ० गं० मं० नि० ध० ध० ॥

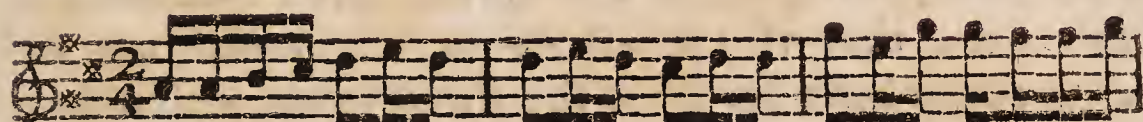
म० य० म० य० नि० ध० ध० नि० मं० मं० नि० धू० नि० ध० म० ग० म० ग० म० म०

म० नि० धू० नि० ध० म० ग० म० ग० म० म० ॥ म० म० म० ग० म० म० य० ध० नि० नि०

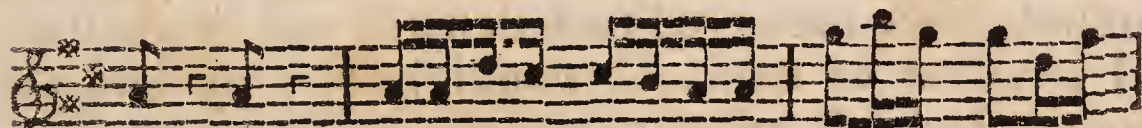
मं० मं० नि० धू० नि० ध० म० ग० म० ग० म० ग० म० ग० नि० म० म०

ing *pa*, and *ri*, or the second and sixth: I could easily have found words for it in the *Gîtagóvinda*, but the united charms of poetry and music would lead me too far; and I must now with reluctance bid farewell to a subject, which I despair of having leisure to resume.

AN OLD INDIAN AIR.



la li ta la van ga la ta pe ri si la na co ma la ma la ya sa



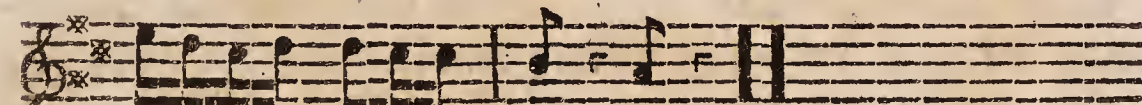
mi re mad hu ca ra ni ca ra ca ram bi ta co ci la



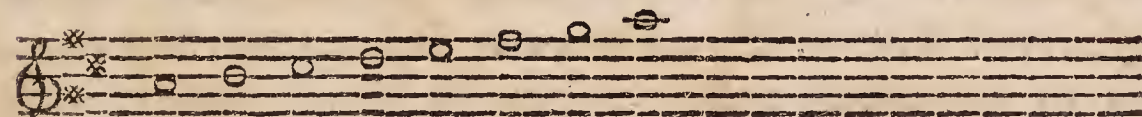
cu ji ta cun ja cu ti re vi ha ra ti he ri ri ha



sa ra sa va san te nrit ya ti yu va ti ja ne na sa mamsachi



vi ra hi ja nasya du ran te.



sa ri ga ma pa dha na sa

A LETTER

From LIEUTENANT BROWNE to the PRESIDENT.

DEAR SIR,

IN the course of reading history, it is a reflection, which must, I think, have occurred to every one, that if the actors in the most material events could have foreseen the importance which those events would have in the eyes of posterity, they would certainly have preserved such detailed and circumstantial relations of them, as would have prevented the general darkness and uncertainty which we now experience and lament: but it has probably seldom happened, that their genius, or leisure from more important concerns, has admitted of this; and thus we are from necessity often compelled to rest satisfied with imperfect traditions, repeated (or, which is worse, arbitrarily) by subsequent historians.

With what avidity should we now peruse an account written by any of the principal persons present at the battle of *Hastings*, of *Lincoln*, of *Lewes*, of *Evesham*, of *Cressy*, of *Agincourt*, of *Towton*, or of *Bosworth*! but in those days a general or statesman was as unskilful with his pen as he was expert with his sword; and the monks, who were almost the only writers, were seldom participators of such active scenes.

Considering this, as well as the importance which the wars and politics of *Hindustan* have now acquired in the opinions of *European* historians, I cannot avoid believing, that the great events of this country will hereafter be sought for with as much diligence,
as

as those of the early part of *European* history are at present: if I am not mistaken in this, the Battle of *Paniput* will be among those events which will claim the greatest attention, both as a military action, and as an era from which the reduction of the *Mabratta* power may be fixed, who otherwise would probably have long ago reduced the whole of *Hindostan* to their obedience.

It appeared to me in this light at a time when a very particular and authentick narrative of that action came into my possession; and, as the plainness of the original led me to believe myself competent to the task, I was induced to undertake the translating it into *English*, that the difficulty of reading it in the *Persian* might not prevent its being as generally known as its historical importance merits.

It is almost superfluous to tell you, dear Sir, who are so well versed in *Asiatick* history, that this battle was fought in the month of January, 1761, between the united forces of all the *Mabratta* chiefs on one side, commanded by SEDASHEO, (commonly called the BHOW,) and the combined armies of the *Durrannies*, *Robillas*, and *Hindostany Mussulmans*, on the other, under the command of AHMED SHAH DURRANY: few battles have been more bloody, or decisive of greater events; for, had the *Mabrattas* been conquerors, they would have put a final period to the *Mussulman* dominion in *Hindostan*, and established their own in its place; but, as it happened, the power of the *Mabrattas* received a shock, from which it has never entirely recovered; and the DURRANY SHAH, having returned precipitately to his own dominions, left the disunited *Robillas*, and *Hindostany Mussulmans*, to carry on, as they could, their distracted government, under a wretched pageant of royalty, and a divided and unprincipled nobility.

The writer of this narrative, CASI RAJ PUNDIT, was a *Muttasiddy* in the service of the late Vizier, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH; and being by birth a native of the *Decan*, acquainted with the *Mabratta* language, and having some friends in the service of the BHOW, he became the channel of several overtures for peace, which the BHOW endeavoured to negotiate through SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH: this, together with the accuracy and clearness of his narrative, makes it much more interesting than any other which I have seen. The translation is, however, far from literal, as I endeavoured to make the style as plain and unadorned as possible.

Such as it is, permit me, dear Sir, to offer it to you, and to leave it to your disposal: if I am so happy as to know that it receives your approbation, as likely to prove useful in elucidating the history of this country, I shall think myself sufficiently rewarded for the time it has taken up. Believe me to be, with the greatest esteem and respect,

DEAR SIR,

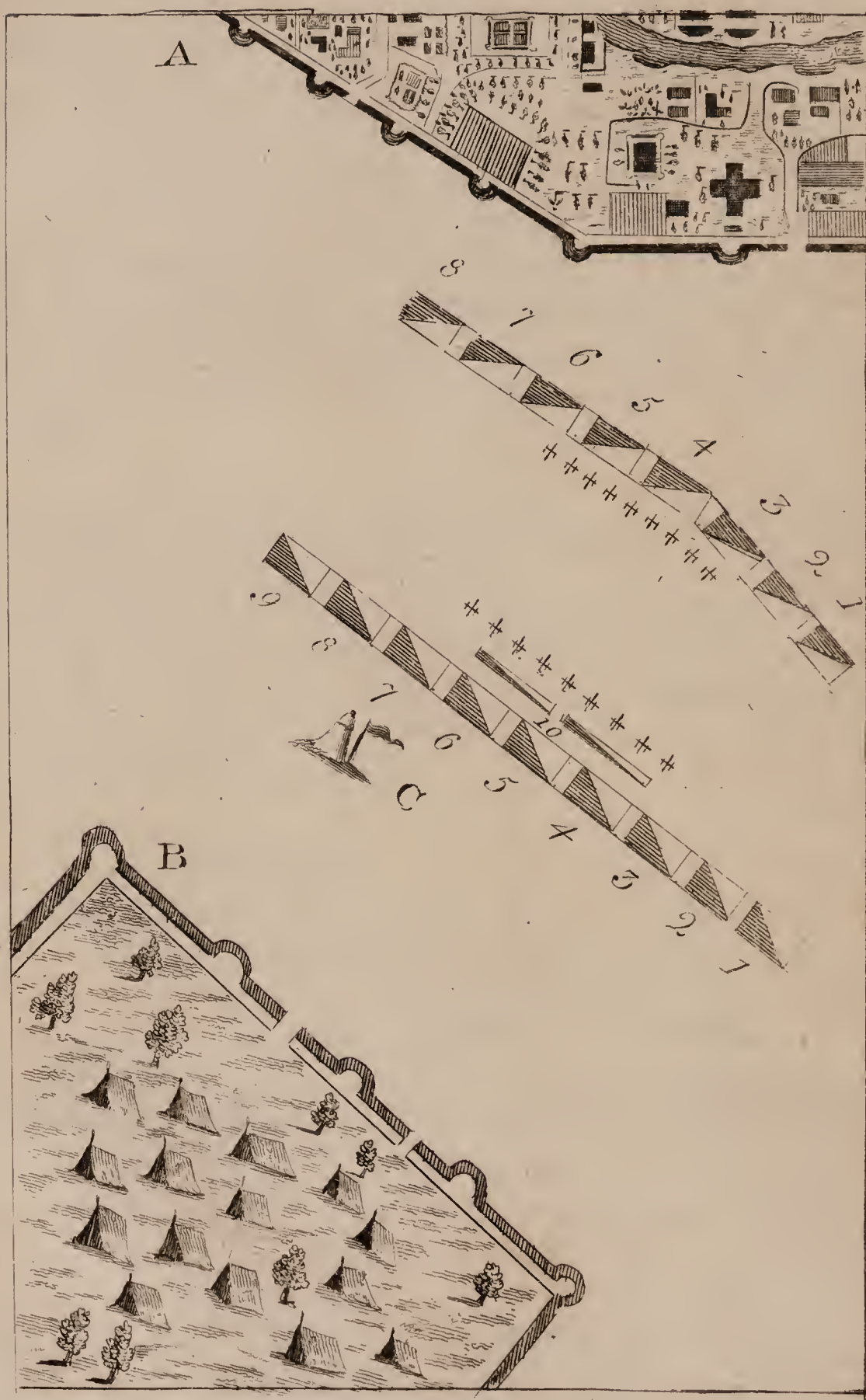
Your very faithful

and obedient Servant,

Dinapore,
February 1, 1791.

JAMES BROWNE.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT.



V.

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT,

AND OF THE EVENTS LEADING TO IT,

Written in Persian by CĀSI RAJA PUNDIT, who was present at the Battle.

BALA ROW, *Pundit Pradbán*, who sat on the *Musnud* of government in the *Decan*, was considered by the chiefs and inhabitants of *Hindostan* as a man of wisdom, circumspection, and good fortune: but he naturally loved his ease and pleasure, which did not however lose him the respect and attachment of his people.

As long as harmony prevailed in his family, he left the entire management of all the affairs of government to SEDASHEO* ROW BHOW, and gave himself up to pleasure.

SEDASHEO, from his earliest years, had studied every branch of the art of government, the regulation of the finances and the army, and the conduct of all publick affairs, under the instruction of RAMCHUNDRA BABA *Sindhvi*, the greatest statesman of the age; and from the first watch of the day till the middle of the night, applied to the publick business. By his great experience, address, and ability, he brought men over to his opinion, to a co-operation in his measures, and a perfect reliance upon his wisdom and ability. Several important affairs, both in the *Decan* and the provinces, had been brought to a conclusion by his means; and at length an expedition was fitted out for completing

* Properly *Sadāsina*.

pleting the conquest of *Hindostan*, under the supreme command of RAGHUNAUT ROW. MULHAR ROW HULKUR, JUNKOOGEE SINDIA, and several other chiefs, were ordered to act under him with very powerful forces. They accordingly marched into *Hindostan*, and with little difficulty reduced every place to their obedience, until they came to the neighbourhood of *Labore* and *Shahdowla*: here they were opposed by JEHAN KHAN, and the other commanders left in those districts by AHMED SHAH DURRANY, whom they defeated, and compelled to repass the *Attock*. They kept possession of that country for some time, but the army beginning to fall considerably in arrears, RAGHUNAUT ROW thought it adviseable to return to the *Decan*.

Upon the return of RAGHUNAUT ROW, the accounts of his expedition being inspected by the BHOW, it was found that a debt of eighty-eight lacs of rupees was due to the army, so much had the expences been allowed to exceed all the collections of tribute, *pishcush*, &c. The BHOW, who was in every respect superior to RAGHUNAUT, reproached him severely for this, and asked him if that was his good management, to bring home debts instead of an increase of wealth to the treasury of the state; which RAGHUNAUT ROW replied to, by advising him to try his own skill next time, and see what advantage he could make of it. BALA ROW, however, interfered, and reconciled them in some degree, by excusing RAGHUNAUT ROW on account of his youth and inexperience.

Next year the scheme of reducing *Hindostan* being renewed, and the command again offered to RAGHUNAUT ROW; he declined it, saying, "Let those have the command who are well-wishers to the state, and who will consult the public advantage." This speech gave great offence to the BHOW; and, on many considerations, he offered himself to take the command

mand of the expedition; taking with him BISWAS ROW, the eldest son of BALA ROW, then seventeen years of age, as the nominal commander in chief, according to the ancient custom of the *Mahrattas**. The army under his command was very numerous, and they set out on their expedition without delay; but, as soon as they had passed the *Nerbudda*†, the BHOW began to exercise his authority in a new and offensive manner, and both in settling the accounts of the army and revenue, and in all public business, he showed a capricious and self-conceited conduct. He totally excluded from his council MULHAR ROW, and all the other chiefs who were experienced in the affairs of *Hindustan*, and who had credit and influence with the principal people in that country, and carried on every thing by his own opinion alone.

When he came to *Seronga*, he dispatched *Vakeels* with presents to all the principal chiefs in *Hindustan*, inviting them to an alliance and co-operation with him, for the purpose of settling the affairs of *Hindustan*. Among the rest, a *Vakeel* came with the above proposal to the *Navab SHUJAH-UL-DOWLAH*, bringing with him a present of fine cloths and jewels to a considerable amount; and informing him, at the same time, that whenever the BHOW should arrive near him, he would dispatch NAROO SHUNKER to conduct SHUJAH-UL-DOWLAH to him. SHUJAH-UL-DOWLAH answered him in the language of profession, but determined in his own mind to keep himself disengaged from both parties, and to be a spectator of the expected contest till his future conduct should be determined by the event, when he designed to join the victors.

AHMED

* Properly *Mahārāshtras*.

† Properly *Narmada*.

AHMED SHAH DURRANY, after the defeat of DATTEA JEE PUTUL SINDIA, cantoned his army in the district of *Anussair*, upon the banks of the *Ganges*; and DATTEA JEE PUTUL himself having been killed in an action with NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, the latter was apprehensive of the consequences of the resentment of the *Mahrattas*, and therefore united himself closely with the DURRANY SHAH, who was himself excited to invade *Hindustan* by a wish to revenge the defeat of his General JEHAN KHAN the preceding year, but still by the solicitations of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, who agreed to bear the extra charges of the SHAH's army, and, being himself a man of great military reputation, as well as an able politician, had persuaded all the *Robilla* chiefs, and the *Patans* of *Ferokhabad*, to join the DURRANY SHAH.

The BHOW, besides his own *Decany* troops, had brought with him all the auxiliaries that he could collect in *Malwa*, *Jansye*, &c. under the command of the several *Aumils*, such as NAROO SHUNKER and others; and, as soon as he arrived at the river *Chumbul*, he sent a confidential person to Raja SURJA MUL, chief of the *Jauts*, proposing a conference, and that SURJA MUL should enter into alliance with him. SURJA MUL sent him word in reply, that his negotiations with the *Mahrattas* had always been conducted through the mediation of MULHAR ROW and the SINDEAS, and that if they chose to interfere on the present occasion, he was ready to wait on the BHOW. The BHOW from necessity asked those chiefs to assist him in this matter, which they having consented to, as soon as the army of the *Mahrattas* approached to *Agra*, SURJA MUL paid his respects to the BHOW; and the conversation turning on the most advisable mode of conducting the war, SURJA MUL said, "You are the master of *Hindustan*, possessed of
"all things; I am but a *Zemindar*, yet will give my
"advice"

“ advice according to the extent of my comprehension and knowledge. In the first place, the families of the chiefs and soldiers, the large train of baggage, and the heavy artillery, will be great impediments to carrying on the kind of war which you have now in hand. Your troops are more light and expeditious than those of *Hindostan*; but the *Durrannies* are still more expeditious than you. It is therefore advisable to take the field against them quite unincumbered, and to leave the superfluous baggage and followers on the other side of the *Chumbul*, under the protection of *Jansye* or *Gualiar*; which places are under your authority.

“ Or, I will put you in possession of one of the large forts in my country, *Deig* or *Combeir*, or *Burtpoor*, in which you may lodge the baggage and followers; and I will join you with all my forces. In this arrangement, you will have the advantage of a free communication with a friendly country behind you, and need be under no apprehensions respecting supplies to your army; and there is reason to believe, that the enemy will not be able to advance so far, but will by this plan of operations be obliged to disperse, without effecting any thing.”

MULHAR ROW, and the other chiefs, approved of this advice, and observed, “ that trains of artillery were suitable to the royal armies, but that the *Mabratta* mode of war was predatory; and their best way was to follow the method to which they had been accustomed; that *Hindostan* was not their hereditary possession; and, if they could not succeed in reducing it, it would be no disgrace to them to retreat again. That the advice of SURJA MUL was excellent; and that the plan which he proposed, would certainly compel the enemy to retreat, as they

3

“ had

“ had no fixed possession in the country. That their
 “ object for the present, therefore, should be to gain
 “ time till the breaking up of the rains, when the
 “ *Durrannies* would certainly return to their own
 “ country.”

Notwithstanding that all the *Mahratta* chiefs were unanimous in recommending this plan, the BHOW, relying on the strength of his army, and his own courage and ability, would not listen to it, but said, “ that
 “ his inferiors had acquired military reputation by
 “ their actions in that country; and it never should
 “ be reproached to him, that he, who was the superior, had gained nothing but the disgrace of acting
 “ defensively.” And he reproached MULHAR ROW with having outlived his activity and his understanding: at the same time saying, “ that SURJA MUL was only a
 “ *Zemindar*; that his advice was suitable enough to his
 “ rank and capacity, but not worth the consideration
 “ of men so much his superiors.”

Men of wisdom and experience were surprized at this arrogance and obstinacy in a man who always formerly had shown so much good sense and circumspection as the BHOW had done till this expedition; and concluded, that fate had ordained the miscarriage of their enterprise. Every one became disgusted by his harsh and offensive speeches; and they said among themselves, “ It is better that this *Brakman*
 “ should once meet with a defeat, or else what weight
 “ and consideration shall we be allowed?”

The BHOW posted a body of troops to prevent SURJA MUL from leaving the camp: this alarmed him very much, but, as all the chiefs were of one opinion, MULHAR ROW and the rest advised him not to be hasty, but to act as circumstances should direct; and, for the present, to remain for the satisfaction of the BHOW.

After

After this, the BHOW marched from *Agra* to *Dehly*, and at once laid siege to the royal castle, where YACOUB ALY KHAN (who was nephew to the *Durrany Vizier*, SHAH VULLI KHAN) commanded, and summoned him to surrender the castle, after the batteries had played some days. YACOUB ALY KHAN finding that resistance was vain, by the advice of SHAH VULLI KHAN, capitulated through the other *Mabratta* chiefs' mediation, and delivered the castle up to the BHOW, who entered it with BISWAS ROW, and seized upon a great part of the royal effects that he found there: especially the ceiling of the great hall of audience, which was of silver, and made at an immense expense, was pulled down, and coined into seventeen lacks of rupees. Many other actions of the same kind were done; and it was generally reported to be the BHOW's design to get rid of such of the principal *Hindostany* chiefs as stood in his way; and, after the DURRANY SHAH should return to his own country, to place BISWAS ROW upon the throne of *Dehly*. This intelligence was brought to the *Navab* SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, and it is on his authority that I relate it.

In the mean time the rains set in, and the BHOW cantoned his army in *Dehly*, and for twelve cofs round it, residing himself in the castle; while AHMED SHAH DURRANY remained in cantonments near *Anufshair*. NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH gave him exact information of every thing that passed; upon which intelligence the SHAH told him, “ that, as SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH was a
 “ chief of great weight and power, and vizier of *Hin-*
 “ *dostan*, it was of the greatest importance to secure
 “ him to their interest, and to persuade him to join
 “ them; for that, should he be gained by the *Mab-*
 “ *rattas*, the worst consequences must arise from it.
 “ That it was not necessary that he should bring a
 “ large army with him: his coming even with a few
 “ would very considerably strengthen their cause.

“ That on a former occasion, when he (AHMED SHAH)
 “ invaded *Hindoostan*, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH’s father,
 “ SUFDER JUNG, had opposed him, and been the
 “ principal means of his failure. That no doubt
 “ this would make SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH apprehen-
 “ sive and suspicious of him, and therefore NUJEIB-
 “ UL-DOWLAH must endeavour by every means to
 “ get the better of that obstacle, lest SHUJA-UL-
 “ DOWLAH should join the opposite party. That this
 “ was a negociation too nice and important to be
 “ conducted by *Vakeels*, or by letters, and that there-
 “ fore NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH must go himself with a
 “ small escort, and in person prevail on SHUJA-UL-
 “ DOWLAH to join them.”

AHMED SHAH DURRANY, and his vizier, SHAH
 VULLI KHAN, sent written treatises of alliance, and
 the *Koran* sealed with their seals, by NUJEIB-UL-DOW-
 LAH, who, taking his leave of the DURRANY SHAH,
 set out with an escort of two thousand horse, and in
 three days got to *Mindy Gaut*, on the *Ganges*.

SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, some time before this, had
 been encamped on his frontier near the *Ganges*, for
 the protection of his country, and, receiving informa-
 tion of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH’s sudden arrival, he
 found himself under the necessity of giving him a meet-
 ing, and showing him all the honours which hospitali-
 ty and politeness demanded. NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH
 showed him the treaties proposed by the DURRANY
 SHAH, and gave him every assurance and encourage-
 ment possible, both from the DURRANY SHAH and
 from himself; and explained to him also the perils of
 their own situation. “ For my own part,” said he,
 “ I give over every hope of safety, when I reflect
 “ that the *Bhow* is my declared enemy; but it be-
 “ hoves you also to take care of yourself, and to se-
 “ cure an ally in one of the parties: and, as you know
 “ the *Bhow* bears a mortal hatred to all *Musfulmans*,
 “ whenever

“ whenever he has the power to show his enmity, nei-
 “ ther you nor I, nor any other *Mussulman*, will
 “ escape. Though, after all, the destiny of God
 “ will be fulfilled, yet we ought also to exercise our
 “ own faculties to their utmost. From my friendship
 “ to you, I have come this distance to explain things
 “ to you, though averse from all unnecessary trouble.
 “ Now consider and determine. The *Begum*, your
 “ mother, is capable of advising us both: consult her
 “ upon the occasion, as well as the rest of your fami-
 “ ly, and determine on what you shall think best.”

After considering the matter for two or three days, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH concluded, that it would be very unsafe and improper to join the *Mahrattas*: and to decline the proffered friendship of the other party, would be impolitick, especially after their deputing a man of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH's rank to him; and would never be forgiven either by the SHAH, or the *Robilla* chiefs. Yet the danger appeared very great, whether the victory should fall to the *Mahrattas*, or to the *Durrannies*. He at length, however, determined to follow the advice of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and to join the DURRANY SHAH. He accordingly dispatched his women to *Lucknow*, appointed *Raja BENI BEHADER Naib Subah* during his absence, and, setting out with NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and arriving at the *Durrany* camp near *Anushair*, was presented to AHMED SHAH DURRANY, who treated him with the greatest consideration and honour, told him that he considered him as one of his own children; that he waited for his arrival, and now would shew him the punishment of the *Mahrattas*, with many proofs of his friendship. He at the same time proclaimed it through his own camp, that no *Durrany* should presume to commit any violence or irregularity in SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's camp: that any one who did, should be put to immediate death; adding, that SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH was the son of SUFDER

JUNG, the guest of AHMED SHAH's family; and that he considered him as dear as his own child. The grand vizier SHAH VULLI KHAN, who was a man in the highest esteem and respect with all ranks, called SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH his son also, and treated him with the highest distinction.

As the common soldiers among *Durrannies* are stubborn and disobedient, notwithstanding the SHAH's proclamation, they committed some irregularities in SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's camp: the SHAH, hearing of this, had two hundred of them seized upon, and, having had their noses bored through with arrows, and strings passed through the holes, they were led in this condition, like camels, to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, to be put to death or pardoned, as he should think proper. He accordingly had them released; and from that time none of the *Durrany* soldiers made the least disturbance in SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's camp.

Soon after this, though the rains were still at their height, the SHAH marched from *Anushair*, and cantoned his army at *Shekdera*, on the bank of the *Jumna*, opposite to the city of *Dekhly*. Many posts of the *Mahratta* army were within sight; but the river was too deep and rapid to be passed.

The BHOW sent BOWANY SHUNKER PUNDIT, a native of *Aurangabad*, and a man of good sense and experience, with some overtures to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH; telling him that there was no ground for enmity between the *Mahrattas* and his Excellency's family; on the contrary, they had formerly given great support and assistance to SUFDER JUNG, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's father. Why then did the *Navab* join their enemies? That their not having long since desired him to join them in person, was solely owing to their unwillingness to give him inconvenience. That now it was
by

by all means necessary for him to join them, or at least to separate himself from the other party, and to send some person of character and rank, on his part, to reside within the camp.

Accordingly the *Navab* sent RAJA DEBYDUT, a native of *Dehly*, who was in his service; a man of great eloquence, (whose father had been the royal treasurer during the administration of the *Syeds*; and he himself had been one of the household during the reign of MOHAMMED SHAH,) to accompany BOWANY SHUNKER. The *Navab* also sent ROW CASY RAJ, (the writer of this narrative,) who had been in the service of SUFDER JUNG, and much favoured by him. His Excellency told BOWANY SHUNKER that I (CASY RAJ) was also a *Decany*, and introduced me to him in his own presence; where we soon recognized our being of the same cast and country. BOWANY SHUNKER wrote the BHOW word of my being employed in this affair; upon which the BHOW caused a letter to be written to me in the *Decan* language; but as there was some deficiency in the form of address, I did not reply to it. The BHOW inquired of BOWANY SHUNKER why I neglected to answer his letter; which being explained, he was very angry with his *Munshy*.

When Raja DEBYDUT got to the BHOW's camp, the negotiation began; but the BHOW being dissatisfied with this agent, he sent BOWANY SHUNKER back to tell SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, that RAJA DEBYDUT was too unguarded a man to be entrusted with secrets of such importance: he therefore desired the *Navab* would send a trusty man entirely to be relied on, and send word by him precisely what steps were to be pursued.

At the same time other overtures came from MULHAR ROW, and Raja SURJA MUL, to know what part they

they should act. All these proposals the *Navab* communicated exactly to NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and the grand vizier; and negotiated with the *Mahrattas* by their advice.

NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH threw every obstacle that he could in the way of peace: but the grand vizier told SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, that, if a peace could be brought about through his means, it would be better; that he was very willing to forward it, and would engage to obtain the SHAH's concurrence. In fact, he was at this time on but indifferent terms with NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH.

At length it was resolved to send the eunuch MOHAMMED YACOOB KHAN with their proposals to the *Mahrattas*, and to tell them from SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, that he acknowledged the friendship which had always subsisted between them and him; that however it was neither proper nor practicable for him to join them, but that on every proper occasion he was ready to manifest his friendship, by giving them the best intelligence and advice; and, since they asked his opinion in the present instance, he would advise them to avoid attempting any other mode of carrying on the war, than the predatory and desultory one, to which they were accustomed: or that, if they preferred peace, means should be devised for obtaining it.

They at the same time wrote to *Raja* SURJA MUL, advising him to quit the *Mahrattas*, and return to his own country; which advice coinciding with his own opinion, he promised to follow it.

The BHOW, in answer to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, acknowledged the kindness of his advice and conduct, and promised to pay attention to what he had said.
That

That as to peace, he had no cause of quarrel with the DURRANY SHAH, who might march back to his own country whenever he pleased; that all the country on the other side of the *Attock* should remain in the possession of the SHAH, and all on this side of it should belong to the chiefs of *Hindustan*, who might divide and settle it as they could agree among themselves. Or, if this should not satisfy the SHAH, he should possess as far as *Labore*. Lastly, he said, that, if the SHAH insisted on still more, he should have as far as *Sirhind*, leaving the remainder to the chiefs of *Hindustan*, as was said before. With this answer YACOOB KHAN returned.

Two days after this, SURJA MUL, who was encamped at *Bidderpoor*, six coss from *Debly*, by the advice of MULHAR ROW, and the other disaffected chiefs, under pretence of changing the ground of his encampment, sent off all his baggage and camp-followers towards his own country, and, when he received intelligence that they had got ten coss on their way, he followed them with his divisions of troops, and had got a great distance, before the BHOW heard of his departure. In a day and two nights he marched fifty coss, and reached the strong holds of his own country.

The BHOW made no account of his defection, only saying, that such conduct was to be expected from mere *Zemindars*; that his going was of no importance, but rather to be rejoiced at, since he did not quit them at any time when they might have relied on him for material service.

MOHAMMED YACOOB KHAN, returning to camp, reported all the BHOW's overtures; but, as neither party were sincerely in earnest, the negotiation went on but slowly.

Meantime,

Meantime, the rains drawing near to an end, the BHOW determined to reduce the strong post of *Kunjpoora*, which is situated on the banks of the *Jumna*, about fifty coss above *Debly*, at that time occupied by about 10,000 *Robillas*, as the possession of that place would secure his passing the river to attack the SHAH. He accordingly marched from *Debly*, and, arriving at *Kunjpoora*, assaulted it with fifteen thousand chosen men; and, after an obstinate resistance, made himself master of the place, taking the governor, DULEIL KHAN, and all the garrison, prisoners, and delivering up the place to plunder. The DURRANY SHAH had exact intelligence of all this proceeding, and was very desirous of relieving *Kunjpoora*; but the *Jumna* was yet impassible.

Soon after the rains broke up, and the *Dussura* arrived: the SHAH gave orders, that the day before the *Dussura*, all the army should be assembled for muster; which being done, he reviewed them himself from an eminence in front of the camp.

The *Durrany* army consisted of twenty-four *Dustas*, (or regiments,) each containing twelve hundred horsemen. The principal chiefs in command under the SHAH, were the grand vizier SHAH VULLI KHAN,—JEHAN KHAN,—SHAH PUSSUND KHAN,—NUSSIR KHAN BELOCHE,—BERKHORDAR KHAN, *Vizier UL-LA KHAN Kizelbashi*,—MORAD KHAN, a *Persian Moghol*.—Besides these principal chiefs, there were many others of inferior rank; and of the twenty-four *Dustas* above-mentioned, six were of the SHAH's slaves, called *Koleran*.

There were also two thousand camels, on each of which were mounted two musketeers, armed with pieces of a very large bore, called *Zumburucks*; forty pieces of cannon, and a great number of *shuternals*,
or

or swivels, mounted on camels: this was the strength of the *Durrany* army.

With the *Navab* SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH there were two thousand horse, two thousand foot, and twenty pieces of cannon of different sizes:

With NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, six thousand horse, and twenty thousand *Robilla* foot, with great numbers of rockets:

With DOONDY KHAN and HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN, fifteen thousand *Robilla* foot, and four thousand horse, with some pieces of cannon:

And with AHMED KHAN BUNGHAS, one thousand horse, one thousand foot, with some pieces of cannon; making all together forty-one thousand eight hundred horse, and thirty-eight thousand foot, with between seventy and eighty pieces of cannon.

This I know to have been precisely the state of the *Mussulman* army, having made repeated and particular inquiries before I set it down, both from the duster (or office) of musters, and from those by whom the daily provisions were distributed. But the numbers of irregulars who accompanied these troops, were four times that number; and their horses and arms were very little inferior to those of the regular *Durranies*. In action, it was their custom immediately after the regulars had charged and broken the enemy, to fall upon them sword in hand, and complete the rout. All the *Durranies* were men of great bodily strength, and their horses of the *Turki* breed; naturally very hardy, and rendered still more so by continual exercise.

AHMED SHAH DURRANY issued orders to his army to be ready to march two days after the muster.

On the other side, the BHOW, having reduced *Kunjpoora*, retired to *Debly*, and ordered a muster of his army; when the strength of it appeared to be as follows:

Under IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE, two thousand horse, and nine thousand sepoy, with firelocks, disciplined after the *European* manner; together with forty pieces of cannon.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| The <i>Khafs Pāgāh</i> , or household troops, | 6,000 horse. |
| MULHAR ROW and HULKER, | 5,000 horse. |
| JUNKOOJEE SINDIA, | 10,000 horse. |
| AMAJEE GUICKWAR, | 3,000 horse. |
| JESWONT ROW, POWAR, | 2,000 horse. |
| SHUMSHERE BEHADER, | 3,000 horse. |
| BELAJEE JADOON, | 3,000 horse. |
| RAJAH BETUL SHUDEO, | 3,000 horse. |
| BULMONT ROW, brother-in-law to the BHOW, and his great adviser in every thing, | } 7,000 horse. |
| BISWAS ROW's own Pāgāh, | |
| ANTAJEE MANKESER, | 2,000 horse. |

There were several other smaller bodies, which cannot now be recollected: the whole army amounted to fifty-five thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, including IBRAHIM KHAN's sepoy.

There were also two hundred pieces of cannon, and rockets and *shuternals* without number.

Besides

Besides these, the *Pindary* chiefs, CHURGORY and HOOL SEWAR, had fifteen thousand *Pindaries* under their authority; and there were two or three thousand horse with the *Rhatore* and *Cutchwa* vakeels. These, with five or six thousand horse more, were left to guard *Dehly*, under command of BOWANY SHUNKER.

Two days after the *Duffara*, which was the 17th of *October*, 1760, AHMED SHAH DURRANY marched from his camp, ordering his baggage to follow the army; and marching all night, encamped next day at the ford of *Baugput*, eighteen coss above *Dehly*. He searched in vain for the ford, the river being still very high, and several horsemen attempting to pass, were drowned. The SHAH having fasted and performed religious ceremonies for two days, on the third a ford was discovered, but it was very narrow, and on each side the water was so deep, as to drown whoever went the least out of the proper track.

The troops began to pass the ford on the 23d of *October*, and the SHAH himself passed as soon as half of his army was on the other side. The whole army was completely crossed in two days; but from their numbers, and the great expedition used, many people lost their lives.

As soon as the army had crossed, the SHAH marched towards the enemy, who also moved to meet him; and on the 26th of *October*, in the afternoon, the *Herawil* (or advanced guard) of the two armies met each other near *Sumalkeh Seray*, and an action ensued, in which the *Mahrattas* had the disadvantage, and retreated at sun-set, with the loss of near two thousand men, while not more than one thousand were killed and wounded on the part of AHMED SHAH. The SHAH's army returned to their camp.

The

The next day AHMED SHAH moved forward again, and so on for several days successively, constantly skirmishing, but still gaining ground on the *Mahrattas*, till they came to *Paniput*, where the BHOW determined to fix his camp, which he accordingly did, and inclosed that, as well as the town of *Paniput*, with a trench sixty feet wide and twelve deep, with a good rampart, on which he mounted his cannon. The SHAH encamped about four coss from the *Mahratta* lines: and as he had always, during his march, surrounded his camp at night with felled trees, so in this camp, which was to remain fixed for some time, the abattis was made something stronger, and the chiefs encamped in the followidg order:

The SHAH in the centre;
 On his left, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH;
 On his left, NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH;
 On the right of the SHAH, HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN;
 On his right, DOONDY KHAN;
 On his right, AHMED KHAN BUNGUS.

The space occupied by the whole front was near three coss and a half.

The BHOW had before given orders to GOBIND PUNDIT, who had the command and collections of *Korah*, *Kurrah*, *Etowa*, *Shekoabad*, and the rest of the *Doab*, as well as of *Kalpee*, and other districts across the *Jumna*, as far as *Sagbur*, to collect all the forces he possibly could, and to cut off all communication for provisions from the rear of the SHAH's army. GOBIND PUNDIT having got together ten or twelve thousand horse, advanced as far as *Mirbet*, in the rear of the SHAH, and so effectually cut off all supplies, that the SHAH's army was in the greatest distress for provisions, coarse flour selling for two rupees per seer, and the troops consequently very much dissatisfied.

dissatisfied. The SHAH, therefore, detached ATTAI KHAN, nephew to the grand vizier, with a *Dusta*, consisting of two thousand chosen horse, and ordered him to march day and night, till he should come up with GOBIND PUNDIT, and having cut off his head, to bring it to the presence. He set out accordingly, being joined by eight or ten thousand of the irregulars, and having marched about forty coss during the night, at day break they fell like lightning upon the camp of GOBIND PUNDIT, where, having no intelligence of the *Durrannies'* approach, they were seized with terror and amazement, and fled on all sides. GOBIND PUNDIT himself attempted to escape upon a *Turki* horse; but being old, and not a very expert horseman, he was thrown off in the pursuit; and the *Durrannies* coming up, cut off his head, and carried it to camp, where it was recognized for the head of GOBIND PUNDIT.

After plundering the enemy's camp, and driving away their scattered troops on all sides, ATTAI KHAN returned to the SHAH's camp, the fourth day from that on which he was detached, and presented his Majesty with the head of GOBIND PUNDIT. The SHAH was highly pleased with this effectual performance of his orders, and bestowed a very honorable *Khalat* on ATTAI KHAN. After this action, the *Durrany* army was constantly supplied with provisions.

The BHOW was much affected with this news, especially as it was accompanied with other events little favourable to his cause: but as he was a man of dignity and resolution, he never betrayed any despondency, but made light of all the adverse circumstances which occurred.

Soon after the defeat of GOBIND PUNDIT, the BHOW sent two thousand horse to *Dehly*, to receive some treasure from NAROO SHUNKER, for the use of the army.

my. These troops were instructed to march privately, by night, and by unfrequented roads, and each man to have a bag of two thousand rupees given him to carry, as far as the sum they should receive would go. They executed their orders completely, as far as to the last march, on their return to the camp; but, unluckily for them, the night being dark, they mistook their road, and went straight to the *Durrany* camp instead of their own. On coming to the outposts, thinking them those of their own camp, they began to call out in the *Mabratta* language, which immediately discovering them to the *Durranies*, they surrounded the *Mabrattas*, cut them to pieces, and plundered the treasures.

From the day of their arrival in their present camp, AHMED SHAH DURRANY caused a small red tent to be pitched for him, a coss in front of his camp, and he came to it every morning before sun-rise; at which time, after performing his morning-prayer, he mounted his horse, and visited every post of the army, accompanied by his son TIMOUR SHAH, and forty or fifty horsemen. He also reconnoitred the camp of the enemy, and, in a word, saw every thing with his own eyes, riding usually forty or fifty coss every day. After noon he returned to the small tent, and sometimes dined there, sometimes at his own tents in the lines; and this was his daily practice.

At night there was a body of five thousand horse advanced as near as conveniently might be, towards the enemy's camp, where they remained all night under arms: other bodies went the rounds of the whole encampment; and AHMED SHAH used to say to the *Hindustany* chiefs, "Do you sleep, I will take care that no harm befalls you:" and to say the truth, his orders were obeyed like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment in executing them.

Every day the troops and cannon on both sides were drawn out, and a distant cannonade with many skirmishes of horse took place: towards the evening both parties drew off to their camps. This continued for near three months; during this time there were three very severe, though partial actions.

The first was on the 29th *November*, 1760, when a body of *Mahrattas*, about fifteen thousand strong, having fallen upon the grand vizier's post on the left of the line, pressed him very hard; till a reinforcement coming to his assistance, the action became very obstinate: the *Mahrattas*, however, gave way about sun-set, and were pursued to their own camp with great slaughter. Near four thousand men were killed on the two sides in this action.

The second action was on the 23d of *December*, 1760, when NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH having advanced pretty forward with his division, he was attacked with so much vigour by BULMONT ROW, that his troops gave way, and only fifty horsemen remained with him; with which small number, however, he kept his ground, till a reinforcement came to his assistance; the action was then renewed with great fury, and above three thousand of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH's men were killed or wounded. Among the killed was KHALIL-UL-RAHMAN, uncle to NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH. In the last charge, which was at near nine o'clock at night, BULMONT ROW was killed by a musket-ball; upon which both parties retired to their own camps.

The third action was much in the same way; and thus every day were the two armies employed, from morning to nine or ten at night, till at length the *Hindostany* chiefs were out of all patience, and intreated the SHAH to put an end to their fatigues, by coming at once to a decisive action; but his constant
answer

answer was, “ This is a matter of war, with which you
 “ are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please,
 “ but leave this to me. Military operations must not
 “ be precipitated. You shall see how I will manage this
 “ affair; and at a proper opportunity will bring it to a
 “ successful conclusion.”

As the *Darrany* army was vigilant both by day and night, to prevent the approach of any convoys, there began to be a great scarcity of provisions and forage in the *Mabratta* camp.

One night, when about twenty thousand of their camp-followers had gone out of their lines, to gather wood in a jungle at some distance, they happened to fall in with a body of five thousand horse, under the command of SHAH PUSSUND KHAN, who had the advanced guard that night, and who surrounded them on all sides, put the whole to the sword, no person coming to their assistance from the *Mabratta* camp. In the morning, when the affair was reported to the SHAH, he went out with most of his chiefs to the scene of the slaughter, where dead bodies were piled up into a perfect mountain!—so great had been the destruction of those unhappy people.

The grief and terror which this event struck into the *Mabrattas*, is not to be described; and even the BHOW himself began to give way to fear and despondence.

There was a news-writer of the BHOW's, called GONNIESH PUNDIT, who remained in the camp of the *Navab* SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH; but not being of sufficient importance to obtain access to the *Navab*, any business that he had with the *Durbar*, he transacted through my means. Through this channel the BHOW often wrote letters to me, with his own hand, desir-
 ing

ing that I would urge the *Navab* to mediate a peace for him, in conjunction with the Grand *Vizier*; that he was ready to submit to any conditions, if he could but preserve himself and his army, and would by every means manifest his gratitude to the mediators. He also sent a handful of saffron (as is a custom with these people) and a written engagement (to which he had sworn) to abide by this promise; together with a turban set with rich jewels, as an exchange for one to be received from the *Navab*, who also returned proper presents, and promised to assist him.

The *Navab* often sent me to the *Vizier* upon this business. He was also very well disposed to listen to the *Bhow's* proposals, and spoke to the *SHAH* about it. The *SHAH* said, “that he had nothing to do in the matter; that he came thither at the solicitation of his countrymen the *Robillas*, and other *Mussulmans*, to relieve them from their fear of the *Mahratta* yoke; that he claimed the entire conduct of the war, but left the *Hindostany* chiefs to carry on their negotiations as they pleased themselves.”

All the other chiefs, *HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN*, *DOONDY KHAN*, and *AHMED KHAN BUNGUSH*, were also satisfied to make peace with the *Bhow*; but every one stipulated that *NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH* must also be satisfied to do so, otherwise they could not consent. Accordingly the *Navab* *SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH* sent me to talk over the matter with *NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH*, and to obtain his consent. I therefore waited upon him, and, in a long private conference, I explained every thing that had passed, and urged every argument to persuade him to come into the views of the other chiefs; to which he replied in nearly the following words:—“*SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH* is the son of a man whom I look up to as my superior; and I consider him also in the same light; but, at the same time, he is young
 Vol. III. I “and

“and unacquainted with the world: he does not see to
 “the bottom of things. This business is a deception:
 “when an enemy is weak and distressed, there is no
 “concession that he will not make, and, in the way of
 “negotiation, will swear to any thing; but oaths are
 “not chains, they are only words. After reducing an
 “enemy to this extremity, if you let him escape, do
 “you think he will not seize the first opportunity to
 “recover his lost honour and power? At present we
 “may be said to have the whole *Decan* at our mercy;
 “when can we hope for another juncture so favour-
 “able? By one effort we get this thorn out of our sides
 “for ever.—Let the *Navab* have a little patience; I
 “will wait upon him myself, and consult what is best
 “to be done.”

After this answer, I left NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and
 returned to my master, to whom I repeated all that
 had passed, assuring him that NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH
 would never be brought to agree to any terms of paci-
 fication.

As soon as I had left NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, though
 it was the middle of the night, he went immediately
 to the SHAH, and informed him of what had passed.
 “All the chiefs (said he) are inclined to make peace
 “with the *Mahrattas*, but I think it by no means ad-
 “viseable. The *Mahrattas* are the thorn of *Hindo-*
 “*stan*; if they were out of the way, this empire might
 “be your Majesty’s whenever you should please. Do
 “as seems fit to yourself. For my own part, I am a
 “soldier of fortune, and can make terms with whatever
 “party may prevail.”

The SHAH replied, “You say truly: I approve of
 “your counsel, and will not listen to any thing in op-
 “position to it. SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH is young and
 “inexperienced, and the *Mahrattas* are a crafty race,
 “on

“ on whose pretended penitence no reliance is to be
 “ placed. I from the beginning made you the ma-
 “ nager of this affair; act as seems best to yourself: in
 “ my situation I must hear every one, but I will not
 “ do any thing against your advice.”

Next day NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH came to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's tent, where they consulted till late at night, but without coming to any conclusion.

By this time the distresses in the BHOW's camp were so great, that the troops plundered the town of *Paniput* for grain; but such a scanty supply gave no relief to the wants of such multitudes. At length the chiefs and soldiers, in a body, surrounded the BHOW's tent, and said to him, “ It is now two days that we have not
 “ had any thing to eat; do not let us perish in this
 “ misery; let us make one spirited effort against the
 “ enemy, and whatever is our destiny, that will hap-
 “ pen.” The BHOW replied, that he was of the same mind, and was ready to abide by whatever they should resolve upon. At length it was determined to march out of the lines an hour before day-break, and, placing the artillery in front, to proceed to the attack of the enemy. They all swore to fight to the last extremity; and each person took a *betel*-leaf in the presence of his fellows, in confirmation of this engagement, as is the custom among the *Hindoos*.

In this last extremity, the BHOW wrote me a short note with his own hand, which he sent by one of his most confidential servants. The words of the note were these:—

“ The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold
 “ another drop. If any thing can be done, do it, or
 I 2 “ else

“else answer me plainly at once: hereafter there
“will be no time for writing or speaking.”

This note arrived about three in the morning, at which time I was with the *Navab*. As soon as I had read it, I informed his Excellency of its contents, and called in the man who brought it; who told the *Navab* all that had happened in the *Mabratta* camp. While he was doing this, the *Navab's* harcarrahs brought word, that the *Mabrattas* were coming out of their lines, the artillery in front, and the troops following close behind.

Immediately on hearing this, his Excellency went to the *SHAH's* tent, and desired the eunuchs to wake his Majesty that moment, as he had some urgent business with him.

The *SHAH* came out directly, and inquired what news: the *Navab* replied, that there was no time for explanation, but desired his Majesty to mount his horse, and order the army to get under arms. The *SHAH* accordingly mounted one of his horses, which were always ready saddled at the tent-door, and, in the dress he then had on, rode half a coss in front of his camp, ordering the troops under arms as he went along.

He enquired of the *Navab* from whom he had his intelligence; and, he mentioning my name, the *SHAH* immediately dispatched one on a post-camel to bring me. After I had made my obeisance, he asked me the particulars of the news. I replied, that the *Mabrattas* had quitted their lines, and would attack his army as soon as it should be light. Just at this time some *Durrany* horsemen passed by, with their horses loaded with plunder, which they said they had taken in the *Mabratta*

ratta camp; and added, that the *Mabrattas* were running away. The SHAH looked at me, and asked me what I said to that? I replied, that a very short time would prove the truth or falsehood of my report. While I was speaking, the *Mabrattas*, having advanced about a coss and a half from their lines, and got their cannon drawn up in a line, all at once gave a general discharge of them.

Upon hearing this, the SHAH, who was sitting upon his horse, smoking a *Persian Kallian*, gave it to his servant, and, with great calmness, said to the *Navab*, "Your servant's news is very true, I see." He immediately sent for the Grand *Vizier* and SHAH PUS-SUND KHAN, who came accordingly: he ordered SHAH PUSSUND KHAN to take post, with his division, on the left of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and consequently of the whole line; the Grand *Vizier* to take post with his division in the centre of the line; and BERKHORDAR KHAN, with some other chiefs, with their troops, on the right of HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN; and AHMED KHAN BUNGUSH, consequently of the whole line. When this was done, he ordered the trumpets and other instruments to sound to battle.

By this time objects began to be discernible; and we could perceive the colours of the *Mabratta* line advancing slowly and regularly, with their artillery in front. The SHAH rode along the front of the line, and examined the order of all the divisions. He then took post, where his little tent was pitched, in front of his camp, but in the rear of his present line of battle, and gave orders for the attack to begin.

The *Mabratta* army faced toward the eastward, and their order was as follows, reckoning from the left flank of their line:

IBRAHIM

IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE,

AMAJEE GUICKWAR,

SHU DEO PATEIL,

The BHOW, with BISWAS ROW and the
household troops,

JESWONT ROW POWAR,

SHUMSHERE BEHADER,

MULHAR ROW,

JUNKOOJEE SINDIA, &c.

Front.

The whole artillery, *shuternals*, &c. were drawn up in front of the line.

The *Mussulman* army faced toward the westward, and was drawn up as follows, reckoning also from the left flank of their line:

SHAH PUSSUND KHAN,

NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH,

SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH,

The Grand *Vizier* SHAW VULLI KHAN,

AHMED KHAN BUNGUSH,

HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN,

DOONDY KHAN,

AMIR BEG KHAN, and other *Persian Mog-*
bols,

BERKHORDAR KHAN,

Front.

All the artillery and rockets were in front of the line. Behind them were the camels, mounted by the musketeers carrying *Zumburucks*, supported by a body of *Persian* musketeers.

The

The two armies facing each other rather obliquely, the divisions of BERKHORDAR KHAN, AMIR BEG, and DOONDY KHAN, were very near to that of IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE. The plan of the battle here annexed will explain this more clearly than any description in writing can do.

On the 7th of *January*, 1761, soon after sun-rise, the cannon, musketry, and rockets, began to play without intermission, yet our army suffered but little by them; for the armies continuing to advance towards each other, the *Mahratta* guns being very large and heavy, and their level not easily altered, their shot soon began to pass over our troops, and fell a mile in the rear. On our side, the cannon fired but little, except from the Grand *Vizier's* division.

As the armies were advancing towards each other, IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE rode up to the BHOW, and, after saluting him, he said, "You have long been displeased with me, for insisting on the regular monthly pay for my people; this month your treasure was plundered, and we have not received any pay at all; but never mind that; this day I will convince you that we have not been paid so long without meriting it."—He immediately spurred his horse, and returning to his division, he ordered the standards to be advanced, and taking a colour in his own hand, he directed the cannon and musketry of his division to cease firing; then leaving two battalions opposed to BERKHORDAR KHAN and AMIR KHAN's division, to prevent their taking him in flank, he advanced with seven battalions to attack DOONDY KHAN and RAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN's division with fixed bayonets. The *Robillas* received the charge with great resolution; and the action was so close, that they fought hand to hand. Near eight thousand *Robillas* were killed or wounded, and the at-
tack

tack became so hard upon them, that but few of the people remained with their chiefs; not above five hundred, or at most a thousand, with each, after the violence of the first charge.

HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN being indisposed, was in his *palankin*, and seeing the desperate state of affairs, he ordered his people to carry him to DOONDY KHAN, that he might expire in his presence: while on the other hand, DOONDY KHAN was giving orders to search for HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN; for so great was the confusion, that no one knew where another was. The two battalions left to oppose the SHAH's flank divisions, as mentioned above, exerted themselves very much, and repulsed the *Durrannies* as often as they attempted to advance. In this action, which lasted three hours, six of IBRAHIM KHAN's battalions were almost entirely ruined, and he himself wounded in several places, with spears, and with a musket-ball. AMAJEE GUICKWAR, whose division supported IBRAHIM KHAN, behaved very well, and was himself wounded in several places.

In the centre of the line, the BHOW, with BISWAS Row, and the household troops, charged the division of the Grand *Vizier*. The *Mahrattas* broke through a line of ten thousand horse, seven thousand *Persian* musketeers, and one thousand camels with *Zumburucks* upon them, killing and wounding about three thousand of them. Among the killed was ATTAI KHAN, the Grand *Vizier's* nephew, who had gained so much honour by the defeat of GOBIND PUNDIT. The division gave ground a little, but the Grand *Vizier* himself stood firm, with three or four hundred horse, and fifty *Zumburuck* camels: he himself, in complete armour, dismounted, to fight on foot.

The *Navab* SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, whose division was next, could not see what was going on, on account

count of the dust; but finding the sound of men and horses in that quarter suddenly diminish, he sent me to examine into the cause. I found the Grand *Vizier* in an agony of rage and despair, reproaching his men for quitting him. "Our country is far off, my friends," said he, "whither do you fly?" But no one regarded his orders or exhortations. Seeing me, he said, "Ride to my son SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, and tell him, that if he does not support me immediately, I must perish." I returned with this message to the *Navab*, who said that the enemy being so near, and likely to charge his division, the worst consequences might follow to the whole army if he made any movement at that time, which might enable the enemy to pass through the line.

The *Navab's* division consisted of only two thousand horse, one thousand musketeers, with twenty pieces of cannon, and some swivels: but they stood in close order, and showed so good a countenance, that the enemy made no attempt upon it. Once or twice they advanced pretty near, and seemed as if they would charge us; but they did not.

On the left of the *Navab's* division was that of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, who had about eight thousand *Robilla* infantry with him, and near six thousand horse. They advanced slowly under cover of a kind of breastworks of sand, which were thrown up by a great number of *Bildars*, who were with them, and who, having finished one, advanced the distance of half a musket-shot in front of that, under cover of their own people, and threw up another; to which the troops then advanced, while a third was thrown up in the same manner. They had got on above a coss in this method, and were within a long musket-shot of the enemy, NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH saying, "That it behoved him to exert himself, as he was the person most deeply interest-

" ed

“ed in the event of that day, the rest being only as “visitors:” and, to say the truth, he was a man of surprising activity and ability.

He was opposed by JUNKOOJEE *Sindea*, and between them there was a mortal enmity. As the *Robillas* had a great number of rockets with them, they fired volleys of two thousand at a time, which not only terrified the horses by their dreadful noise, but did so much execution also, that the enemy could not advance to charge them. Besides which, the division of SHAH PUSSUND KHAN was on the right flank of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH; and that *Durrany* chief, being a brave and experienced officer, advanced in such good order, that the *Mabrattas* could make no impression on it.

The action continued in nearly this state from morning till noon; and though we suffered least in point of killed and wounded, yet, upon the whole, the *Mabrattas* seemed to have the advantage.

About noon, the SHAH received advice that the *Robillas* and the Grand *Vizier's* divisions had the worst of the engagement; upon which he sent for the *Nesuckchees*, (a corps of horse, with particular arms and dress, who are always employed in carrying and executing the SHAH's immediate commands,) and two thousand of them being assembled, he sent five hundred of them to his own camp, to drive out by force all armed people whom they should find there, that they might assist in the action; and the remaining one thousand five hundred, he ordered to meet the fugitives from the battle, and to kill every man who should refuse to return to the charge. This order they executed so effectually, that, after killing a few, they compelled seven or eight thousand men to return to the field. Some were also found in the camp, and some the SHAH sent from the reserve which was with

with him. Of these, he sent four thousand to cover the right flank; and about ten thousand were sent to the support of the Grand *Vizier*, with orders to charge the enemy sword in hand, in close order, and at full gallop. At the same time he gave directions to SHAH PUSSUND KHAN, and NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, that, as often as the Grand *Vizier* should charge the enemy, those two chiefs should at the same time attack them in flank.

About one o'clock these troops joined the Grand *Vizier*, who immediately mounted his horse, and charged the body of the *Mahratta* army, where the BHOW commanded in person: SHAH PUSSUND KHAN, and NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, took them in flank at the same time, which produced a terrible effect.

This close and violent attack lasted for near an hour, during which time they fought on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. Between two and three o'clock, BISWAS ROW was wounded, and dismounted from his horse; which being reported to the BHOW, he ordered them to take him up, and place him upon his elephant. The BHOW himself continued the action near half an hour longer on horseback, at the head of his men; when all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole *Mahratta* army turned their backs, and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead. The instant they gave way, the victors pursued them with the utmost fury; and, as they gave no quarter, the slaughter is scarcely to be conceived, the pursuit continuing for ten or twelve coss in every direction in which they fled.

Of every description of people, men, women, and children, there were said to be five hundred thousand souls in the *Mahratta* camp, of whom the greatest
part

part were killed or taken prisoners: and of those who escaped from the field of battle, and the pursuit, many were destroyed by the *Zemindars* of the country. ANTAJEE MANKEESER, a chief of rank, was cut off by the *Zemindars* of *Ferocknagur*.

The plunder found in the *Mabratta* camp was prodigiously great: you might see one of our horsemen carrying off eight or ten camels loaded with valuable effects: horses were driven away in flocks like sheep: and great numbers of elephants were also taken.

Near forty thousand prisoners were taken alive; of which six or seven thousand took shelter in the camp of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, who posted his own people to protect them from the cruelty of the *Durranies*: but the unhappy prisoners who fell in the hands of the latter, were most of them murdered in cold blood, the *Durranies* saying in jest, that, when they left their own country, their mothers, sisters, and wives, desired that, whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, they would kill a few of them on their account, that they also might possess a *merit in the sight of God*. In this manner thousands were destroyed, so that in the *Durrany* camp (with an exception of the SHAH, and his principal officers) every tent had heads piled up before the door of it.

As soon as the battle was over, all the chief officers presented their *Nezzurs* of congratulation to the SHAH; and his majesty, having taken a slight view of the field of battle, returned to his tent; as all the other commanders did to theirs, leaving the inferior officers, and private soldiers, to continue the plunder and pursuit at their own discretion.

Towards

Towards morning, some of BERKHORDAR KHAN'S *Durrannies* having found the body of BISWAS ROW, on his elephant, after taking the elephant and jewels, brought the body to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, who gave them two thousand rupees for it, and ordered that it should be taken care of. IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE, though severely wounded, had been taken alive by SHUJA KOULY KHAN, one of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH'S own people; which being reported to his Excellency, he ordered him to be carefully concealed, and his wounds to be dressed.

The SHAH next day ordered SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH to send the body of BISWAS ROW for him to look at; which he accordingly did. The whole camp, great and small, were assembled round the SHAH'S tent to see it; and every one was in admiration of the beauty of its appearance: it was not disfigured by death, but looked rather like a person who sleeps: he had one wound with a sword on the back of his neck, and a slight one with an arrow over his left eye, but there was no blood discoverable on any part of his remaining clothes. Upon sight of this body, many of the *Durrannies* assembled in a tumultuous manner, saying, "This is the body of the king of the unbelievers; we will have it dried and stuffed, to carry back to *Kabul*." Accordingly, it was carried to the quarter of BERKHORDAR KHAN, and deposited near the tent of MOODY LOL, a *Kettery* by cast, who was his *Dewan*.

As soon as SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH heard of this, he waited upon the SHAH, and joining with the Grand *Vizier*, represented to his majesty, "That enmity should be limited to the life of our enemy; and it is always the custom of *Hindustan*, that after a victory, the bodies of the chiefs, of whatever race or tribe, are given up, that they may receive their proper

“ proper obsequies, according to the rules of their
 “ particular religion: such conduct, they said, does
 “ honour to the victors, but an opposite one disgraces
 “ them. Your majesty is only here for a time; but
 “ SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, and the other *Hindoostany* chiefs,
 “ are the fixed residents of this country, and may
 “ have future transactions with the *Mahrattas*, when
 “ their conduct on the present occasion will be remem-
 “ bered; therefore let the body be given up to them,
 “ that they may act as is customary here.”

This matter remained in agitation for near two
 days, NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and, indeed, all the *Hin-*
doostany chiefs, joining in the same request. I was also
 sent on this account, accompanied by MEIG RAJ, the
Vakeel of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, to the tents of BERK-
 HORDAR KHAN and MOOTY LOL. A second time I
 went alone, when MOOTY LOL asked me if I came on
 that business only, or would undertake any thing
 further. I said, “ For any thing that he chose to
 “ communicate.” Accordingly, he carried me pri-
 vately into two inner tents: in one I found *Raja*
BABOO PUNDIT, the *Bhow's Vakeel*, who was wound-
 ed, with whom I conversed for some time; after
 which I went into the other tent, where *Row JUN-*
KOOJEE Sindia was sitting; he was wounded with a
 ball, and with a spear, in the arm, which he wore in a
 sling, and was a youth about twenty years of age.
 Upon seeing me, he hung down his head; on observ-
 ing which, I said to him, “ Why do you do so, Sir?
 “ Whatever could be expected from human valour
 “ and exertion, you have done; and the deeds of that
 “ day will live for ever in the memory of mankind.”
 Upon this, lifting up his head, he said, “ True, no
 “ one can contend with destiny. I wish I had died
 “ in the field of battle; but it was my fate to be
 “ brought hither. These people now require ransom
 “ from me, nor would it be difficult for me to pay
 “ what

“ what they demand, but it is impossible for me to
“ get it here at this time. You were a friend of my
“ father’s, and there was always friendship between
“ my family and the *Navab’s*, and my father did them
“ considerable services; if his Excellency will pay
“ the money required for my release, it is an obliga-
“ tion that I shall never forget.” I assured him that
the *Navab* would not be backward, and desired to
know how much was required. MOOTY LOL said,
seven lacks of rupees was the sum mentioned, but
that it might probably be settled for less. I immedi-
ately returned to the *Navab*, whom I found sitting with
NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH: I told him all that had passed
respecting the business he sent me upon; but as I well
knew the enmity which NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH bore to
the family and person of JUNKOOJEE, and thought
that, from his good intelligence, he might have some
intimation that JUNKOOJEE was taken alive, I thought
it was best to avoid saying any thing about him to the
Navab at that time, and went away to another part of
the tent: but NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, who had observ-
ed me, said to the *Navab*, “ From the countenance of
“ CASI RAJA, I perceive that he has something else
“ to say which my presence prevents.” SHUJA-UL-
DOWLAH replied, that there were no secrets between
them two; and immediately calling me, made me
swear by the *Ganges*, to speak all that I should have
done if NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH had not been there;
which being thus compelled to do, I did. NUJEIB-
UL-DOWLAH, who was master of the most profound
dissimulation, said, that it was highly proper, and be-
coming great men, to relieve their enemies under
such circumstances; he therefore begged that SHUJA-
UL-DOWLAH would settle the ransom of JUNKOOJEE,
and that he himself would pay half of it. This was
his profession; and soon after taking leave, he went
to the *Grand Vizier*, and informed him of all the par-
ticulars.

As,

As, on one hand, NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH wished to exterminate the family of *Sindea*, the Grand *Vizier* also was an enemy to BERKHORDAR KHAN, whom he hoped to injure by discovering this secret negociation: they therefore went immediately together to the SHAH, and laid the affair before him. His Majesty sent for BERKHORDAR KHAN, and questioned him about having concealed JUNKOOJEE; but he positively denied any knowledge of it. The Grand *Vizier* then sent for me to prove the fact; but even after that, BERKHORDAR KHAN persisted to deny it. Upon which, the SHAH ordered his *Nesuckchees* to search the tents of that chief. Thus driven to extremity, BERKHORDAR KHAN immediately dispatched orders to his people to put both the prisoners to death, and bury them privately, before those sent by the SHAH should arrive to look for them, which was done accordingly, and thus those unhappy people lost their lives.

IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE had hitherto remained in SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's camp, and it was his Excellency's intention to send him privately to *Lucknow*; but some of the SHAH's people getting information of this, informed his Majesty of it, who sent for his Excellency, and questioned him on the subject. He at first denied it; but at length the SHAH, by dint of persuasion and flattery, got him to confess it. Immediately (as had been pre-concerted) a great number of *Durranies* surrounded the SHAH's tent, crying out, "IBRAHIM KHAN is our greatest enemy, and has been the destroyer of multitudes of our tribe; give him up to us, or let us know who is his protector, that we may attack him." SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH put his hand upon his sword, and said, "Here he is:" and things were very near coming to extremity, when the Grand *Vizier* interfered, and taking SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH aside, he entreated him to consign IBRAHIM KHAN to his care for one week, promising to restore him safe at the end of that time. The *Navab* expressed some apprehension

apprehension of intended treachery; but the Grand *Vizier* swearing on the *Koran* that no harm should befall the prisoner, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH sent for IBRAHIM KHAN, and delivered him into the Grand *Vizier's* hands.

The SHAH ordered him to be brought into his presence, and insultingly asked him, "how a man of his courage came to be in such a condition?" He answered, "that no man could command his destiny; that his master was killed, and himself wounded, and prisoner; but that, if he survived, and his Majesty would employ him in his service, he was ready to shew the same zeal for him as he had done for the BHOW." The SHAH gave him back in charge to the Grand *Vizier*, where he was treated with the greatest cruelty; and, as it is said, they ordered poison to be applied to his wounds, so that he died the seventh day after.

The day after the battle, the SHAH, superbly dressed, rode round the field of battle, where he found thirty-two heaps of the slain, of different numbers, most of them killed near each other, as they had fought: besides these, the ditch of the BHOW's camp, and the jungles all round the neighbourhood of *Paniput*, were filled with bodies. The SHAH entered the town of *Paniput*, and, after visiting the shrine of BOO ALY KALINDER, he returned to his tents.

SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH took some hundreds of *Bishties* with him to the field of battle, to wash the bodies, and look for those of the chiefs, especially for that of the BHOW; and carried the *Mahratta Vakeels*, SINDUR PUNDIT, and GUNNEISH PUNDIT, and other prisoners, who knew the persons of all the chiefs, to assist him in finding them out. Accordingly they found the bodies of JESWUNT ROW POWAR, and the son of PALA JADOO, and many others.

The second day, after the strictest search had been made for the body of the BHOW, advice was brought that a body was lying about fifteen coss from the field of battle, which appeared to be that of a chief: SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH immediately went to the place, and had the body washed: some pearls of the value of three or four hundred rupees each, being found near the body, confirmed the belief of its being that of a person of rank. These pearls the *Navab* gave to SINADUR PUNDIT, the *Mahratta Vakeel*, who, as well as the rest of the *Mahrattas* who came to find out the bodies, burst into tears, and declared this to be the body of the BHOW, which they discovered by several natural marks, which the BHOW was known to have about him. First, a black spot about the size of a rupee on one of his thighs; secondly, a scar in his back, where he had been wounded with a *Kuttar* by MAZUFFER KHAN; and thirdly, in his foot the fortunate lines, called by the astrologers, *Puddum Mutch*. The body was that of a young man about thirty-five years old, and strongly made; and, as it was known that the BHOW every day made one thousand two hundred prostrations before the sun, so were there the marks of such a practice on the knees and hands of this corpse.

While we were thus employed, I observed one of the *Durranies*, who stood at a distance and laughed; which I remarked to the *Navab*, and told him, that perhaps that man might know something respecting the body. The *Navab* took him aside, and questioned him; to which he answered, “ I saw this person several times during the battle; he was extremely well mounted, and, in the course of the action, two of his horses were killed under him; at last he received several wounds, and was dismounted from his third horse. About this time the *Mahratta* army fled on all sides, yet this person seemed still to preserve his presence of mind. He was well dressed, and had
 “ many

“ many jewels on, and he retired with a short spear
 “ in his hand, and with a resolute aspect. I and
 “ some others pursued him for the sake of his jewels,
 “ and, having surrounded him, we asked him if he was
 “ some chief, or the BHOW himself: and told him not
 “ to be afraid, for we would do him no harm, but
 “ carry him wherever he desired. As he made no
 “ reply, one of my companions grew angry, and
 “ wounded him with a spear, which he returned; upon
 “ which we killed him, and cut off his head, but not
 “ without his wounding two or three of us: the head
 “ another person has got.” This last circumstance
 was not true, for the head was afterwards found with
 this very man.

The *Navab* carried the body, and that of SUNTAJEE
 NAJAH, (which had forty cuts of swords upon it,) to the
 camp, upon two elephants, and informed the SHAH of
 all the circumstances.

The SHAH, in compliment to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH,
 gave orders that these two bodies, together with the
 body of BISWAS ROW, should be burnt, according to
 the custom of their casts; and sent twenty of his *Nesuckchees*
 to attend, and prevent the *Durrannies* from
 giving any interruption to the ceremony. His Excel-
 lency gave the bodies in charge to me, and told me
 that I was of the same country and tribe, and therefore
 he desired that I would burn them with the proper ce-
 remonials; and he sent *Rajah ANUEGHIRE* with the
Nesuckchees to attend me. Accordingly I carried them
 to a spot between the SHAH's camp and the *Navab's*;
 and, having washed them with *Ganges* water, and per-
 fumed them with sandal wood, I burnt them.

About two thousand of the fugitives from the
 BHOW's camp, who had escaped from slaughter by
 SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's protection, were present on
 this occasion, and all were of opinion that the headless

body was the BHOW's; but still, the head not having been seen, there was some room for doubt. In the evening, after burning the bodies, we returned to camp. At night SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH went to the Grand *Vizier*, and told him what the *Durrany* had said respecting the head. The *Vizier* sent for the *Durrany*, who belonged to BERKHORDAR KHAN, and told him not to fear being obliged to give up his plunder, that he should keep it all if he would confess where the head was. Upon this the *Durrany* brought it wrapped up in a cloth, and threw it down before the Grand *Vizier*. *Rajah* BABOO PUNDIT, the *Mahratta* *Vakeel*, being sent for to look at the head, immediately said, "This is the head of the BHOW: he was my master, and the care of this is a sacred duty to me: let me beg that this head may be given to me, and that I may be permitted to burn it, according to the ceremonial of our religion." The Grand *Vizier* smiled at this request, and gave the head to him, at the same time sending some *Nesuckchees* with him for his protection. *Rajah* BABOO PUNDIT carried the head on the outside of the camp, and burnt it; after which no man doubted that the BHOW was actually killed. And this concludes all that I personally know respecting this battle, and the death of the BHOW.

I afterwards learned from other parts of the country, that MULHAR ROW, AMAJEE GUICKWAR, BETAL SHU DEO, and some other chiefs, fled from the battle, and escaped. One of the BHOW's wives escaped on horseback, and got safe to *Deig*, where *Rajah* SURJA MUL received her with great respect, gave her money, clothes, and a *palankin*, and sent her with an escort to *Jansy*, whence she got safe to the *Decan*.

SHUMSHERE BEHADER got to *Deig*, wounded. SURJA MUL had his wounds taken the greatest care of, but he died soon after; and his tomb is at *Deig*.

The

The fifth day after the battle, the SHAH returned to *Debly*, which he reached in four marches. He wished to seize on the empire of *Hindustan*; but God disapproved of this design.

After our return to *Debly*, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH sent all the fugitives from the *Mahratta* camp, who had taken shelter with him, under a guard of his own troops, to the boundary of the *Jauts* dominions, where they were safe.

Eight days after this, by the pleasure of God, all the *Durrannies* mutinied in a body, and insisted on the discharge of their arrears for the two years past, and also that they should immediately march back to *Kabul*. This confusion lasted for some days, during which time the *Durrannies* quarrelled with SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's people, and threatened to attack his camp. His Excellency, highly provoked at this, went to the Grand *Vizier*, and asked him, "If that was the treatment he was to experience after all the fine promises that had been made to him?" The *Vizier* assured him, that both the SHAH and himself had the highest respect and attention for his Excellency; but that the *Durrannies* were out of all power of controul. "Then, (said the *Navab*,) I see the value of your promise;" and got up to depart. The *Vizier* embraced him, saying, "We shall meet again;" but his Excellency made no reply.

As soon as he returned to his own camp, he consulted with his friends; and all agreed that it was no longer adviseable to remain with the SHAH's army. Accordingly in the afternoon he decamped, and marched fifteen coss that night; and in this manner, by five forced marches, he got to *Mindy Gaut*, on the *Ganges*. He was apprehensive that the SHAH might be so provoked at the abruptness of his departure, as to order him to be pursued; but no such step was taken;

taken; and the *Navab* crossed the *Ganges*, and returned with safety into his own dominions.

After this, we learned from the news-writers, the *SHAH* finding it impossible to pacify his army by any other means, was obliged to give up his views in *Hindoستان*, and to return to *Kabul*; having received above forty lacks of rupees from *NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH* for the assistance which he had given him.

Though this narrative is written from memory, and long since the events happened, I do not believe that I have omitted any circumstance of importance; and those who reflect upon these transactions, will believe that Providence made use of *AHMED SHAH DURRANY*, to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the *Mahrattas*; for in the eyes of *GOD* pride is criminal.

NOTES.

P. 93. *inviting*) This measure of the *BHOW's* seems to have been merely a political artifice, to disunite the *Hindoستان* chiefs, by exciting in some of them a hope of participating in his conquests; for the preceding conduct of the *BHOW* gives little reason to believe that, if the *Durrannies* and *Rohillas* had been out of the question, he would have allowed the existence of any power in *Hindoستان* but that of the *Mahrattas*.

P. 99. *children*) This is a compliment very common among eastern nations; and, like most of their other compliments, means nothing at all.

P. 101. *addresses*) Of this they are extremely tenacious; and it is a thing so very particularly attended to in the east, that those who have occasion to correspond with the *Asiatics*, cannot be too well acquainted with every one's address; for any deviation excites either disgust or ridicule.

P. 106. *Pagáh*) The word *Pagáh* has the same signification among the *Mahrattas*, as *Risalah* has among the *Persians* and *Moguls*; and, being indefinite in the number of troops of which it consists, may be rendered pretty fairly by our word *brigade*. I have known it applied to a command of three hundred horse; and I have also known it used in the same sense, to describe one of some thousands of horse and foot with artillery.

P. 107. *Pindarries*) The *Pindarries* are the freebooters of the *Mahratta* armies, and usually as numerous as those they account their regulars.

lars. They are mounted on small but hardy horses, and serve for plunder only. The chiefs under whom they engage, enter into certain articles of agreement with the chief commanding the *Mahratta* army, respecting the division of plunder; and the *Pindarries* also have particular conditions, on which they serve under their chiefs. Their principal use is in laying waste an enemy's country, or their own when invaded; which they do with great alacrity and effect; also in attacking the baggage and camp-followers of an enemy's army. Another thing, which makes them extremely useful to their own army, is, that every *Pindarry* has a pair of large bags on his saddle, which, after his day's excursion, he in the evening brings into camp, filled with wheat, barley, rice, or some other useful grain, plundered from the villages, which is sold in the bazar for something below the market price; so that ten thousand *Pindarries* are at least as useful to the supply of their own army as an equal number of *Bunneaks*, with carriage-bullocks, would be.

P. 107. *The troops*) This seems to have been the crisis of the BHOW's fortune: had he boldly attacked the SHAH, while he was passing the *Jumna*, he would probably have totally defeated him.

P. 108. *his camp*) Colonel DOWE says, that the BHOW occupied the lines formerly thrown up by MAHOMMED SHAH, and that the DURRANY SHAH posted himself in the more fortunate camp of NADIR SHAH. KASSI RAJH does not notice this, but says that the BHOW dug a trench round his camp. The point, however, is of little consequence.

P. 119. *January*) Colonel DOWE says it was on the 20th, not the 6th of *Jemad-ul-Sani*. The reader may believe either, without any injury to the fact of the battle itself. Dates are exceedingly inaccurate in all oriental productions.

P. 120. *dust*) This may appear extraordinary to those who have never seen a large army of horse galloping about on a dusty plain, in a hot climate, but is a very natural and true description to those who have.

If I am not mistaken, PLUTARCH mentions, as one of the most cruel sufferings of CRASSUS's army, when defeated in *Parthia*, that the *Parthians* galloped round them continually, and almost suffocated the soldiers with dust.

P. 122. *enmity*) DATTEA JU PATEIL, the brother of JUNKOO-GEE, had been killed the year before, in the battle of *Badelly*, against NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH.

P. 123. *orders*) These orders of AHMED SHAH evince much military knowledge: perhaps better can scarcely be imagined in that situation of affairs; and the success was complete.

P. 123. *enchantment*) The *Mahratta* army fled in consequence of the death of BISWAS ROW, their chief. This is always the case with *Asiatick* armies.

P. 124. *souls*) This number seems very great; but any person acquainted with the multitudes of followers in an *Indian* camp, will not disbelieve

disbelieve it. Even in *English* camps in *India*, three followers to each fighting man, is considered as a moderate number.

P. 124. *merit*) This is looked upon as highly beneficial to the souls of the faithful; and almost a certain passport to paradise.

P. 127. *Ganges*) This is one of the many instances among this people, where absurd superstition is brought in excuse of lax morality. What the author adverts to is very common, both among *Hindoos* and *Mussulmans*. It is rather an adjuration than any thing that might reasonably be deemed obligatory (even though its object were innocent) on the person on whom it is involuntarily imposed; and is usually practised to make men betray secrets which they are bound in honour to conceal. He who wishes to discover the secret, says, "I adjure you by the *Ganges*, or the *Koran*, "or your son's head." This the other pretends to consider a sufficient compulsion for him to betray his trust: I say pretends, because where the secret regards their own interest or safety, they are very far from allowing an equal force to the adjuration.

P. 129. *cruelty*) The cause of this extraordinary enmity to *IBRAHIM KHAN*, was his having fought on the side of the infidels against the true believers.

P. 132. *killed*) Notwithstanding all this, however, in the year 1779, a man appeared, who called himself the *BHOW*, and from many circumstances obtained credit for some time.

He came first to *Etaiva*, and made himself known to *LALA BALGOBIND*, a merchant with whom the *BHOW* had been on terms of friendship. *BALGOBIND* was so far persuaded of his identity, that he treated and entertained him with great respect: but, though he brought many circumstantial proofs that he was the *BHOW*, and his age, person, and several marks about his body, strongly supported that belief, still there appeared a difference in temper and manner, which excited doubt. *BALGOBIND* having expressed his wish to be satisfied respecting this, the person replied, that after the battle and pursuit, from which he escaped alive, though wounded, he fled to the hills of *Kamáoun*, where he lived five years among a fraternity of *Fakeirs*, conforming to all their austerities; which must necessarily have made a great change in his manners. That after this, he had resided some time in *Rohalcund*, and had travelled to many places in the disguise of a *Byraghy Fakeir*: "At length," said he, "I am arrived here, and we must devise the best method for me to declare myself." *BALGOBIND* told him, that, as there were many *Mahrattas* at *Benares* to whom the *BHOW* was known, he had better first shew himself there. Accordingly he went to *Chutterkote*, in *Bondelcund*, from whence he wrote (as the *BHOW*) to *MOORJEE BHUT*, *RAMCHUND GOTKUR*, and *GUNNEISH BHUT*, at *Benares*; informing them that he was arrived at *Chutterkote*, and desiring them to come to him immediately.

Upon receipt of this letter, *MOORJEE BHUT*, the son of *RAMCHUND GOTKUR*, and *DOONDOD BHUT*, who was an old servant of the *BHOW*, set out for *Chutterkote*, where they immediately waited upon the supposed *BHOW*, and had a long conference with him; after which they

retired

retired to a house in the town. Next day they waited upon him again, when, in the course of the conversation, the supposed BHOW told them, that as he had left many lacks of rupees, as a deposit with them before the battle of *Paniput*, he desired that they would furnish him with some money, to defray the expense of the rank which he meant to assert. On this they immediately got up, and went away; and from that time, they began to circulate a report that this was not the BHOW, but an impostor. When he heard this, he reproached them with ingratitude, and told them that he would come to *Benares*, and establish his claims upon them: they, however, persisted to deny them, and returned to *Benares*. The supposed BHOW followed them, and arriving at *Benares*, went to reside at the house of DOONDoo BHUT, who all along acknowledged him. Here several *Mahrattas*, and other considerable inhabitants of that town, went to see him, and were so far convinced of his identity, that they gave and lent him large sums of money. Several of the *Mahrattas* also ate with him, in proof of their belief of his story. But four or five of the principal merchants, whom he had asserted to be his debtors, would not visit him; at which he was so much provoked, that he sent word to MOORJEE BHUT, RAMCHUNDER GOTKUR, and GUNNEISH BHUT, either to pay him what they owed him, by fair means, or that he would compel them by force: at the same time, he began to raise some troops in the town, and soon got together some hundreds of the kind of soldiery procurable in every town of *Hindoostan*. He also got a palkey, and two or three horses for himself, with which cavalcade he used to come into the town, and pass in terror round the houses of his debtors, who were much alarmed lest he should seize upon them, and carry them off.

Mr. THOMAS GRAHAM, who at this time was resident on the part of the Company at *Benares*, hearing of these proceedings, inquired of several persons of character, whether, in their opinion, this man was the BHOW or not; who all replied that he certainly was an impostor. While this inquiry was going on, it was discovered that DOONDoo BHUT, a confidential friend of the BHOW, (as has been said before,) was carrying on some secret negotiation with RAJA CHEYT SING, who had sent him money at different times. Mr. GRAHAM was led to believe, from many circumstances, that one object of this negotiation was to have him destroyed, under cover of some popular insurrection; the *Raja* having at that time conceived a jealousy of him, on account of his knowledge in the affairs of that district, which the *Raja* wished as much as possible to conceal. As the *English* were then at war with the *Mahrattas*, and RAJA CHEYT SING thought to be rather dissatisfied with the government, Mr. GRAHAM was very naturally alarmed at this intelligence, and sent a message to the *Raja*, requesting that he would explain himself. In reply, RAJA CHEYT SING assured him that he was perfectly ignorant of the matter in question, and desired that Mr. GRAHAM would send for the person himself, and inquire. Mr. GRAHAM accordingly did send for him; but he peremptorily refused to come, with expressions of contempt for the resident's authority.

Mr. GRAHAM having advised the *Raja* of this, and called upon him for assistance, as the person in whose hands the government of the country

try was, as to its police, the *Raja* immediately sent the *Ameer* and *Cutwal* of *Benares* with a detachment of Sepoys, to seize upon the supposed *BHOW*, and confine him. They accordingly surrounded the house in which he resided, and, after some little resistance, they took him prisoner, and carried him to Mr. GRAHAM, who asked him some questions; to which his answers were not satisfactory, and rather tending to confirm the suspicions already conceived of *RAJA CHEYT SING*.

The supposed *BHOW* remained a prisoner in the *Aumeins Cutcherry* at *Benares*, till Mr. GRAHAM having consulted the board at *Calcutta*, received their orders to send him to *Chunarghur*, and deliver him in charge to the commanding officer there; and they at the same time directed him to inquire particularly into the truth or falsehood of his story. This person was accordingly confined at *Chunarghur*, where Mr. GRAHAM went several times, and sent for the prisoner, whom he questioned particularly respecting his whole story; the result of which was, his feeling some disposition to credit his being the *BHOW*, and occasionally assisting him with money. Soon after, Mr. GRAHAM went to *Calcutta*, carrying with him an agent on the part of the supposed *BHOW*; but in a short time after, he himself going to *Madras* as secretary to Sir EYRE COOTE, nothing was determined respecting that affair, and the unfortunate man remained a prisoner till *August*, 1781, when Mr. HASTINGS, the Governor General, came to *Benares*, and the troubles with *RAJA CHEYT SING* commenced. During the time of Mr. HASTINGS's residence at *Chunarghur*, he sent for the prisoner, and, after hearing his story, ordered him to be released. The man returned to *Benares*, where he died soon after.

Among others, *KASSI RAJH PUNDIT*, the author of this book, being at *Benares*, when the supposed *BHOW* resided there, went to see him, and said (as *BALGOBIND* had done) that the person exactly resembled the real *BHOW*, and that the marks upon him (the same as mentioned in his narrative of the battle of *Paniput*) exactly corresponded, but that the manner and temper were different.

Thus the affair stands at present, a subject for unbounded conjectures; and the *Benares BHOW* will generally be classed with *LAMBERT SIMNEL*, *PERKIN WARBECK*, the *Russian DEMETRII*, and many others whom ill success has transmitted to posterity as impostors, when better fortune, in the precarious appeal to the sword, would, perhaps, have stamped them the real much-injured heirs of their domains, restored by the hand of Heaven, to bless their subjects by the benign exercise of legitimate authority.

“The vanquish'd rebel like a rebel dies:

“The victor rebel plumes him on a throne.”

This man had written a history of himself in the *Persian* language, which he gave to Mr. THOMAS GRAHAM, who would have indulged me with the perusal of it, but having left it behind him when he went to the coast with the late Sir EYRE COOTE, in a place not sufficiently dry, it was unfortunately destroyed by vermin.

P. 132. SHUMSHERE) This was the father of ALY BEHADER, now at *Muttra* (in 1790) with TOKOJEE HULKER.

P. 133: *He wished*) This is the only historical intimation that I remember to have met with of this fact, yet it is extremely probable; and I was told by people of the first authority, when I was at *Dehly*, that the connection which AHMED SHAH DURRANY formed with the house of TIMUR when he was in *Hindoostan*, was with that view. He himself married a daughter of MOHAMMED SHAH, and gave a young daughter of ALUMGHIRE SANI (consequently a sister or half sister of SHAH ALUM) to his son TIMUR SHAH, who has since succeeded him in the throne of *Kabul*, &c. But his constant apprehensions on the side of *Persia*, and a disposition void of enterprise, have hitherto prevented TIMUR SHAH from attempting any thing in *Hindoostan*; and, as he grows older, it is probable that his pacific conduct will still continue.

P. 134. *Navab*) It cannot fail to strike every reader, that though KASSI RAJH PUNDIT was a servant, and evidently a great admirer of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, omitting no fair occasion of praising him, yet he says nothing of what DOWE and some others tell us of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's being highly instrumental to gaining the victory at *Paniput*, by wheeling round upon the flank of the *Mahrattas* at a critical part of the battle. On the contrary, by his very clear and minute detail, it appears that SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's division never moved from their first post, but thought themselves fortunate in not being attacked where they were. As, independent of historical truth and his master's credit, KASSI RAJH would himself have derived some share of reputation from the gallant actions performed by that division, it does not seem likely that he would have passed such a circumstance over in silence, if it had ever happened.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>A. <i>Paniput</i>, with the <i>Mahratta</i> Camp.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Division of IBRAHIM KHAN. 2 Division of AMAJEE GUICK-WAR. 3 Division of SHU DEO PATEIL. 4 Division of the BHOW and BIS-WAS ROW. 5 Division of JESWONT ROW. 6 Division of SHUMSHERE BE-HADER. 7 Division of MULHAR ROW. 8 Division of JUNKOOGEE <i>Sindia</i>. | <p>B. The <i>Durrany</i> Camp.</p> <p>C. The SHAH's advanced Tent.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Division of BERKHORDAR KHAN. 2 Division of AMIR BEG, &c. 3 Division of DOONDY KHAN. 4 Division of HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN. 5 Division of AHMED KHAN BUNGUSH. 6 Division of the Grand <i>Vizier</i>. 7 Division of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH. 8 Division of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH. 9 Division of SHAH PUSSUND KHAN. 10 <i>Persian</i> Musketeers. |
|---|---|

REMARK

REMARK by the PRESIDENT.

THE preceding narrative brings to my mind an anecdote, which I received from BAHMEN of *Yezd*, whose father BAHRA'M had been a confidential servant of CARÍM RHA'N, and heard it at *Shíráz* from the lips of the KHA'N himself. Both CARÍM *Zend* and AHMED *Abdáli* were officers of NA'DIR *Sháb*; and, having displeased him at the same time, for a little neglect of their duty as commissaries, were put under arrest, and confined for some days in the same guard-room; but such are the vicissitudes of life in unsettled countries, that a short time after, NA'DIR was assassinated by one of his own kinsmen; CARÍM became, at length, sovereign of all *Irán*, where he reigned near thirty years universally beloved; and AHMED, having founded a new kingdom at *Cábul*, obtained the victory at *Pánipat*'s, without which the *Mahráttas* would, perhaps, at this day, have been the most powerful nation of *India*.

TO COLONEL PEARSE.

DEAR SIR,

* THE following is an extract from a paper written in 1782, and intended for a periodical mathematical publication, which I then had the care of: as it mostly relates to a subject of which no person is a better judge than yourself, if you think it worthy of a place in the *Transactions* of the *Asiatick Society*, I request you will transmit it.

I am, DEAR SIR,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

Fort William,
June 10, 1787.

REUBEN BURROW.

VI.

A SPECIMEN *of a* METHOD *of* REDUCING
PRACTICAL TABLES *and* CALCULATIONS
into more general and compendious Forms.

THOUGH practices usual in one science may often be transferred with advantage to another, yet the general class of writers are so much more intent upon making books than improvements, that it very seldom happens to be the case: and, therefore, though the following hints can have little claim to ingenuity, they are certainly valuable on account of their use.

It is common in Astronomy, when there are two series of quantities, whose respective terms depend on each other, to find a general expression for an intermediate term, by what is called the method of interpolation: that is applied by NEWTON to *Comets*, and by DE LA CAILLE to *Eclipses*; and I shall here, as a specimen, apply it to some few examples in artillery and fortification.

Let $g+hx$ be an expression by which the quantity a is derived from m , and b from n ; then if N is any term in the series m, n , the term derived from it, in the series a, b , will be $(an-bm) : (n-m) + N (b-a) : (n-m)$.

In p. 174 of MULLER'S Artillery, the length of a battery for two pieces of cannon is forty-feet; and for four pieces, fifty-eight feet: now if N be the number of cannon, a general expression for the length of the battery may be found, by substituting two for m , and four for n , forty for a , and fifty-eight for b , in the foregoing form; which then becomes $22+9 N$; and therefore, for twenty pieces of cannon, the length of the battery is 202 feet.

By

By a similar substitution, if fifty men are required to make the battery for two pieces, and seventy for that of four pieces, as in MULLER's Table, then $30+10N$, is the expression for the men required for any number N of pieces in general.

Instead, therefore, of MULLER's Table, the following general one may be inserted for the number of men, tools, &c. for making a battery for any number of cannon in one night.

| Number of Pieces | Length of the Battery. | Men to make the | | Tools | Fascines in feet | | | Pickets. | Mallets | Hand bills. | Platforms. | | | Bavins. |
|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|------------------|----------|------|------------|---------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------|---------|
| | | Battery | Fascines | | 10 | 8 | 6 | | | | Planks | Sleepers. | Pickets. | |
| N | $22+9N$ | $30+10N$ | $5+5N$ | $40+15N$ | $20+25N$ | $20+14N$ | $8N$ | $180+305N$ | $2+4N$ | $8+2N$ | $18N$ | $5N$ | $23N$ | $25N$ |

In the same manner, from having a few particular cases in other kinds of rules, general ones may be found: for example, if N be a number whose r root is required, and if x^r be its nearest complete power, then we know already, that

$$x : N \approx x :: x : N^{\frac{1}{r}} \approx x \text{ for the } 1 \text{ root.}$$

$$\frac{3}{2}x^2 + \frac{1}{2}N : N \approx x^2 :: x : N^{\frac{1}{2}} \approx x \text{ for the square root.}$$

$$2x^3 + N : N \approx x^3 :: x : N^{\frac{1}{3}} \approx x \text{ for the cube root.}$$

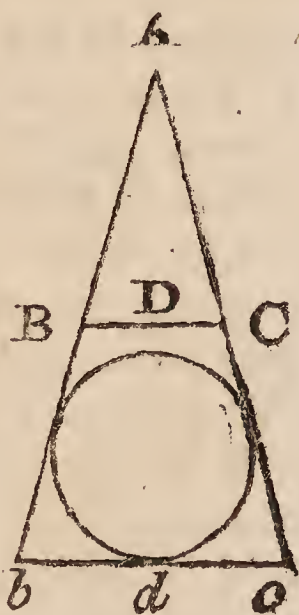
Now the general form of the three last terms is evident; and to find those of the first term, let one and two be put for m and n , and one and three halves for a and b , and by substituting in the foregoing expression; the general coefficient of x^r is found to be $(r+1)$; again if we put 0 and one half for a and b , we find the coefficient of N to be $(r-1)$.

If we use the second and third proportions, putting two and three for m and n , and for a and b , three halves and two, in the first case, and one-half and one, in the second, we get the same values. Hence in

$$\text{general; } \frac{r+1r}{2} - x + \frac{r-1}{2} N : N \approx \frac{r}{x} :: x : N \approx x$$

Another example of the advantage of transferring practices from one subject to another is this. Dr. HALLEY has applied a method similar to that of interpolation to find the time of the tropicks: now the sun's meridian altitude may be found in the same way, from altitudes taken near the meridian, and if the observer begins a little before noon to take altitudes and the times, and continues to do so till a little after noon, a number of meridian altitudes may be deduced from these, and the latitude found much more exactly from them, than can be expected from a single meridian altitude, by using the expression for the maximum, or otherwise.

Analogous to these, are methods of generalizing properties from particular cases: thus, if Ab Ac be tangents to a circle, and if any lines BC bc , be also drawn to touch the circle; then the perimeters of all the triangles $A B C$, will be constant, and also the difference between the sum of Ab and Ac and the base bc : this property is of uncommon use in the construction of problems, relative to plain triangles and trapeziums; and if lines be supposed drawn from the centre, or a point in the circumference of a sphere, to each part of the figure, it will be found, that the projection of the figure upon the sphere will have analogous properties, and that the theorem is also true in spherical triangles.



By

By a little mode of consideration, problems similar to those of APOLLONIUS on tangencies may be constructed on the sphere: for instance, having three circles given upon a sphere, a fourth may be found to touch them; for their positions on the sphere being given, their projections will also be given on a plane stereographically; and as a circle may be found in VIETA'S method to touch them on that plane, the situation of that circle may be found upon the sphere, and hence properties may be found from constructing the problem independent of the stereographic projection: and if we suppose the centre of projection to be the centre of focus, &c. of a spheroid, or other solid, innumerable properties may be found relative to their tangents, curvatures, &c. regard being had to the position of the plane, &c.

To give a specimen of the aforesaid method in fortification, let h (see pp, 22, 23, 24, and 25, of DEIDIER'S *Perfekt French Engineer*) represent the height of a wall; then, according to VAUBAN'S measures, if five feet be the thickness at the top, $\frac{1}{5}h+5$ will be the thickness at the bottom; and, according to BELIDOR'S method $\frac{2}{5}h+3,5$, will be the thickness at the top, and $\frac{1}{4}h+3,5$, that at the bottom. The length of the counterfort (according to VAUBAN) will be $\frac{1}{5}h+2$; also $\frac{1}{10}h+2$ is the thickness next the wall, and $(\frac{1}{3}h+4)$ the thickness at the other end of the counterfort. If part of the wall is gazoned, let e be the height of that part, and h that of the wall; then $\frac{1}{5}(h+e)+5$ is the thickness at the bottom; $\frac{1}{5}e+5$ is the thickness at the top; $\frac{1}{5}(h+e)+2$ is the length of the counterfort; $\frac{1}{10}(h+e)+2$ its thickness next the wall, and $\frac{1}{3}(\frac{1}{5}(h+e)+4)$ its thickness farthest from the wall. When there are cavaliers, let c be their height in feet; then $\frac{1}{10}(2e+c+50)$ is the thickness of the revêtement at the top, and $\frac{1}{10}(2h+2e+c+50)$ is the thickness at the bottom.

A DEMONSTRATION OF ONE OF THE HINDOO RULES OF ARITHMETICK.

By Mr. REUBEN BURROW.

THE art of invention being in a great measure dependent on the doctrine of combinations, every additional improvement in the last must of consequence be useful in the former; and as the following ancient rule for “*finding the sum of all the different permutations of a given numeral quantity, consisting of a given number of places of figures,*” is not, I believe, extant in any *European* Author, and is besides very ingenious, I take the liberty to insert it, and also to add the demonstration.

Rule. Place an Arithmetical Progression over the figures, beginning with unity at the units place, and increasing by unity: divide the product of the terms of this progression by the number of places of figures in the given quantity, multiply the sum of the figures in the given quantity by the quotient, and set down the product as often as there are places in the given quantity, removing it each repetition one place to the right hand, and the sum of these lines is the sum of all the permutations.

Example. Required the sum of the different permutations of 893.

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \frac{1 \times 2 \times 3}{3} = 2; & (8+9+3)2 = 40; & 893 \\
 & & 839 \\
 & 40 & 983 \\
 \begin{array}{ccc} 3 & 2 & 1 \\ 8 & 9 & 3 \end{array} & 40 & 938 \\
 & 40 & 389 \\
 & \hline & 4440 & \hline & 398 \\
 & & \hline & 4440
 \end{array}$$

DEMONSTRATION.

First, It is evident that if all the permutations of any number of letters expressing figures be put down ; and those in the first place to the right hand be multiplied by unity ; those in the second place by ten ; those in the third place by 100, and so on ; then the sum of all these will be the sum of the permutations required.

Secondly, Supposing the different permutations to be put down one under another, it will really appear, from the manner in which permutations are generated, that all the letters occur an equal number of times in each perpendicular column ; and also that the number of times of occurrence in the permutation of n letters, is equal to the permutations of $n-1$ letters ; but the permutations of $n-1$ letters is equal to $1.2.3\dots(n-1)$ or $1 \times 2 \times 3$ carried to $n-1$ terms ; and consequently if there be n letters in the given number, each letter in the columns aforesaid will occur $1.2.3\dots(n-1)$ times.)

Thirdly, Let $1.2\dots(n-1) = m$ then
 $m(a+b+c+\dots n) 1 =$ sum of numbers in the units place or first column.
 $m(a+b+c+\dots n) 10 =$ sum of numbers in the tens or second column.
 $m(a+b+c+\dots n) 100 =$ ditto third column.
 $m(a+b+c+\dots n) 100\dots$ to $(n-1)$ Cyphers $=$ ditto in the n column ; and the sum of these is evidently equal to
 $m(a+b+c+\dots n) \cdot (1+10+100+\dots \text{to } n \text{ terms}) ;$
 and putting for $(1+10+100\dots n)$ its value $111\dots n$, the expression becomes
 $(1.2.3\dots(n-1)) \times (a \times b \times c \times \dots n) \times (111\dots n),$
 but $1.2.3\dots(n-1)$ is equal to $\frac{1.2.3\dots n}{n}$ and therefore the expression for the sum of all the permutations is
 $(\frac{1.2.3\dots n}{n}) \times (a+b+c+\dots n) \times (111\dots n),$ which is the Hindoo rule when the figures of the given number are all unlike.

Lastly,

Lastly, It is evident that $1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \dots n$ is the number of permutations of n different things; but if several sets of figures are alike, as r figures of one kind, s figures of another, for instance; then let

$(1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot n \dots) : (1 \cdot 2 \dots 1) \times (1 \cdot 2 \dots s)$, &c. the number of permutations in that case be called N ; then the sum of the permutations is

$N : n + (a + b + c + \dots n) \times (111 \dots n)$ in general.

Example. Required the sum of the permutations of 11335?

$$\frac{1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5}{1 \cdot 1 \cdot 1 \cdot 1 \cdot 1} = 30; \frac{30}{5} = 6 \times 13 = 78;$$

78

78

78

78

78

866658 the Sum required.

VII.

ON THE NICOBAR ISLES, AND THE FRUIT
OF THE MELLORI.

BY NICHOLAS FONTANA, Esq.

THE south-west monsoon having strongly set in on the *Malabar* coast, it was deemed unsafe to remain there any longer; we therefore took our departure from *Mangalore* on the 20th of *May*, 1778, directing our course towards the gulph of *Bengal*; and in less than ten days, we came in sight of the *Carnicobar* Islands; the appearance of which, at seven or eight leagues distance, is much like a chain of mountains covered with woods: we anchored to the N. E. of one of them, in five fathoms, with a good sandy bottom; supplied ourselves with water and wood, and proceeded in quest of the other *Nicobars*, or *Nancaveris*, as they are called, situated between eight and nine degs. N. lat. to the northernmost point of the island of *Sumatra*. They were descried on the 4th of *June*, to the S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. at the distance of ten leagues: the position of three of those islands forms one of the safest harbours in *India*, where ships of all sizes may ride with the greatest security, sheltered from all winds, about half a mile from shore; with the additional advantage of two entrances, that may serve for getting in and out, both with a N. E. and S. W. monsoon, having a clear deep channel on each side.

In one of the bays formed within those islands, we moored in twelve fathoms, and there remained until the S. W. monsoon was quite over, which was in the beginning of *September*. The largest of those islands is called *Nancaveri*, or *Nancowry*, about five or six leagues in circumference, and better inhabited than either of the other two. The second is called *Sowry*, or *Chowry*, and the other *Tricùt*, all closely situated: about
ten

ten leagues to the N. E. of them is another, called *Catchoul**.

Almost the whole of those islands is uncultivated, though there are a number of large valleys that might be rendered very fruitful, with little trouble, the soil being naturally fertile, where the cocoa-nut, and all other tropical fruits, come spontaneously to the highest perfection, together with yams and sweet potatoes, to obtain which it is only necessary to scratch the earth superficially, and the seeds so planted come forth in a few days†.

The surrounding sea abounds with exquisite fish, shell-fish, as cockles and turtles; and a most splendid display of beautiful shells of the rarest sort are to be met with on the shore. The birds' nests‡ so much esteemed in *China*, are also to be found among the rocks: ambergris is likewise to be met with; but the inhabitants have learned a mode of adulterating it, and it is therefore seldom to be found in a genuine state: if adulterated with any heterogeneous matter, such as wax, or resin, the mode of discovery is simply by placing a small bit of it upon the point of a knife when

* In the year 1756, the *Danish* E. I. Company erected on one of these islands a house to serve as a factory, but on their failure, in the year 1758, it was evacuated. On the re-establishment of the Company in 1768, another house was built on *Soury* Island, which was in 1773, in like manner, ordered to be evacuated as useless to the Company's interests: three or four *European* missionaries, with a view of making proselytes, remained behind, and have continued there ever since, but without effecting even the conversion of a single person; they collect, however, cocoa-nut oil, shells, and other natural curiosities, which they send annually to their brethren at *Tranquebar*.

An exact plan of these islands may be seen in the *Neptune Oriental*.

† *Tricut*, being the flattest of those Islands, is divided amongst the inhabitants of the other two, where they have their plantations of Cocoa-nut and *Areca* trees; these last being very abundant all over the islands.

‡ *Nidos hos, rupibus oceani orientalis affixos, parant hirundines marini, domesticis multo majores, ex holothuriis mari innatantibus materiam decerpentis.* KOEMPF. *Aman.*—p. 833.

when hot, and if it evaporates without leaving any calx, or *Caput Mortuum*, and diffuses a strong fragrant smell, it is certainly genuine.

The inhabitants of the *Nicobar* Islands are of a copper colour, with small eyes obliquely cut, what in ours is white being in theirs yellowish; with small flat noses, large mouths, thick lips, and black teeth; well proportioned in their bodies, rather short than tall, and with large ears, in the lobes of which are holes, into which a man's thumb might be introduced with ease; they have black strong hair, cut round: the men have little or no beard; the hinder part of their head is much flatter and compressed than ours; they never cut their nails, but they shave their eye-brows*. A long narrow cloth, made of the bark of a tree, round their waist, and between their thighs, with one extremity hanging down behind†, is all their dress. The women and men are of the same copper colour, and very small in stature; a bit of cloth made with the threads of the bark of the cocoa-nut-tree fastened to the middle, and reaching half way down the thigh, forms all the covering of the women. Both sexes are, however, very fond of dress; and when the men go into the presence of strangers, they put on hats and old clothes, that have been

* It is a custom among them to compress with their hands the occiput of the new-born child, in order to render it flat; as, according to their ideas, this kind of shape constitutes a mark of beauty, and is universally esteemed such by them: by this method, also, they say that the hair remains close to the head, as nature intended it, and the upper fore-teeth very prominent out of the mouth.

† A traveller called KEOPING, a *Swede*, who went to the *East Indies*, on board a *Dutch* ship, in the year 1647, which anchored off the *Nicobar* Islands, relates that they discovered men with tails, like those of cats, and which they moved in the same manner. That having sent a boat on shore with five men, who did not return at night, as expected, the day following a larger boat was sent, well manned, in quest of their companions, who, it was supposed, had been devoured by the savages, their bones having been found strewed on the shore, the boat taken to pieces, and the iron of it carried away.

been given them by *Europeans* ; but among themselves they are almost naked.

They live in huts, made of cocoa-nut-leaves of an oval form, supported on bamboos, about five or six feet high from the ground ; the entrance into the huts is by a ladder ; the floor is made partly of planks, and partly of split bamboos. Opposite to the door, in the furthest part of the hut, they light their fire, and cook their victuals : six or eight people generally occupy one hut ; and a number of skulls of wild boars forms the most valuable article of furniture.

The occupation of the men consists in building and repairing their huts, which affords them an annual employment for six months at least, and in fishing and trading to the neighbouring islands. The women are employed in preparing the victuals, and cultivating the ground ; they also paddle in the canoes, when the men go out. They unite in matrimony through choice ; and if the man is not satisfied with the conduct of the woman, either from her inattention to domestic concerns, or sterility, or even from any dislike on his part, he is at liberty to discharge her ; and each unites with a different person, as if no such connection had taken place. Adultery is accounted highly ignominious and disgraceful ; particularly with persons not of the same cast : should it be proved, the woman would not only be dismissed with infamy, but, on some occasions, even put to death ; although, by the intervention of a small token given publickly, and consisting of nothing more than a leaf of tobacco, the reciprocal *lending of their wives of the same cast* is exceedingly common.

A woman

The account of this voyage was reprinted at *Stockholm* by SILVIUM in the year 1743. LINNÆUS seems to have been too credulous in believing this man's story ; for, in all my examinations, I could discover no sort of projection whatever on the *Os Coccygis* of either sex. What has given rise to this supposed tail, may have been the stripe of cloth hanging down from their posteriors ; which, when viewed at a distance, might probably have been mistaken for a tail.

A woman who bears three children, is reckoned very fruitful ; few bear more than four ; the cause may be attributed to the men, from a debility occasioned by the early intrusion of the testicles into the abdomen, the hard compression of them and the penis by the bandage round those parts, from premature venery, and hebetation brought on by the immoderate use of spirits ; and from the very inactive and sedentary life those people lead, it will not be difficult to account for that want of longevity, which seems to prevail much in those islands, more especially amongst the men, where none were to be seen older than forty or forty-eight years. The women, on the contrary, seem to live much longer.

They are themselves so sensible of the scanty population of their islands, that they study to increase it by inviting, and even seducing, some *Malabars* or *Bengalese* to remain amongst them, when brought thither by the country ships, and of whom there are in almost all villages some to be found, who may be easily discerned from the natives by their figure, features, colour, and language. The natives encourage their stay by grants of land, with plantations of cocoa-trees and arecas ; and, after a certain number of years, they are permitted to make choice of a female companion.

Their indolence is not to be equalled by any other people of the east. They go out a fishing in their canoes at night ; and with harpoons, which they dart very dexterously at the fish, after having allured them into shallow water with burning straw, a sufficient number is soon caught to serve the family for a meal : they immediately return home ; and if, by chance, they catch a very large fish, they will readily dispose of one half, and keep the remainder for their own use.

They entertain the highest opinion of such as are able to read and write : they believe that all *Europeans*, by this qualification only, are able to perform
acts

acts more than human ; that the power of divination, controlling the winds and storms, and directing the appearance of the planets, is entirely at our command.

This people, like other savage nations, dread the evil genius : some among them give themselves the air of divination, and presume to have secret confabulations with him : superstition must ever be in its full dominion where ignorance is so gross.

Some of the natives, having begun to fabricate earthen pots, soon after died ; and the cause being attributed to this employment, it has never been resumed ; since they prefer going fifteen or twenty leagues to provide them, rather than expose themselves to an undertaking attended, in their opinion, with such dangerous consequences.

Whenever they visit one another, no sort of compliment or salutation takes place between them ; but when the visitors take leave, they are profuse in good wishes, that last for some minutes, with different inflections of voice, to which the other constantly answers, by repeating the words *Callá callá condì condì quiagé*, which may be rendered in *English* thus : “ Very well, very well ; go, go, and return soon.”

Behind, or close by their huts, the dead are buried : all the relations and acquaintance cry for some hours before the corpse is put into the grave, where it is interred with all possible solemnity, and in the best dress they can muster, and with abundance of food. After the body is covered with earth, a post is raised, and fixed in the ground over the head of the deceased, about four feet high, to the top of which they suspend strips of cloth, with meal and areca nuts, and strew cocoa-nuts all around. This supply of food for the deceased is even after continued : a cocoa-tree is also cut down for every person that dies.

lies. As soon as a man is dead, his name is never mentioned, even if repeatedly asked; every one of the mourning visitors brings a large pot of toddy. The women sit round the corpse howling and crying, and by turns they go and put their hands on the breast and belly of the deceased, who is covered with striped cloth: the men are seated at a little distance, drinking, and inviting all the visitors to do the same; endeavouring thus to dispel their grief, by a complete general intoxication, which never lasts less than a couple of days after the interment.

The different changes of the moon are productive of great festivity and mirth among the *Nicobarians*, when the doors of their huts are decorated with branches of palms, and other trees: the inside is also adorned with festoons made of slips of plantain leaves. Their bodies are, in like manner, decorated with the same ornaments; and the day is spent in singing and dancing, and eating, and drinking toddy, till they are quite stupified.

The idea of years, and months, and days, is unknown to them, as they reckon by moons only, of which they number fourteen, seven to each monsoon. At the fair season, or the beginning of the N. E. monsoon, they sail in large canoes to the *Car Nicobars*, called by them *Champaloon*. The object of this voyage is trade; and for cloth, silver coin, iron, tobacco, and some other articles, which they obtain from *Europeans*, together with fowls, hogs, cocoa, and areca nuts, the produce of their own island, they receive in exchange, canoes, spears, ambergris, birds'-nests, tortoise-shell, and so forth.

Ten or twelve huts form a village. The number of inhabitants on any one of these islands does not exceed seven or eight hundred. Every village has its *Head Man*, or *Captain*, as they term him, who is generally

nerally the oldest. Few diseases are known amongst them; and the venereal not at all: the small-pox visits them occasionally, but not of the confluent kind: what is more prevalent amongst them, is the œdematous swelling of one or both of the legs, known in the west of *India* under the name of the *Cochin Leg*, from the place where this disorder generally prevails. This endemial disease may be imputed to the following causes; ill-chosen and badly-prepared diet; the bad choice of habitations, and an extremely indolent inactive life. Fevers and cholicks are also frequent among them. When a person falls sick, he is immediately removed to the house of one of their priests, or conjurors, who orders the patient to be laid in a supine posture for some time; then friction with some oily substance is applied to the upper part of the body, and often repeated; which remedy they indiscriminately use for all complaints, never administering medicines internally.

The only quadrupeds on these islands are hogs and dogs: of the former, however, only the sows are kept, and they are fed principally with the milk of the cocoa-nut and its kernel, which renders the meat of a firmness and delicious taste, even superior, both in colour and flavour, to the best *English* veal. It may be worthy remark, that, although the neighbouring *Car Nicobar* woods abound with monkeys of different species, none are to be seen in these islands, notwithstanding their having been repeatedly brought over: they neither propagate, nor do they live for any time.

Among the feathered tribe, wild pigeons are pretty abundant from *June* to *September*, on account of a berry which is then ripe, and on which they feed with great eagerness: at the same time pheasants and turtle-doves are frequently found: the constant inhabitants of the woods are a species of the green parrot, or

parroquet, with a black bill and collar: no other birds are to be found in them.

The climate is pure, and might, with little trouble, be rendered very salubrious: constant sea breezes fan their shores, thus preserving them from oppressive heat: vegetation continues without intermission: the woods are very thick, and the trees bound together by a kind of twig or creeping shrub, that renders them almost impervious.

The *Nicobar* dance is as dull and inanimate as can be conceived, as well for the slowness and heaviness of its motions, as for the plaintive monotonous tune that accompanies it: with no instrument but their mournful low voices, which are in perfect unison with the motion of their bodies. Men and women form a circle, by putting their hand on each others shoulders; they move slowly, backwards and forwards, inclining sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left.

The whole of their musick consists of the few following notes.



The basis of the language spoken by these islanders, is chiefly *Malay*, with some words borrowed from *Europeans*, and other strangers, as will appear by the following specimen :

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------|
| <i>Chia</i> | Father | <i>Ochiá</i> | Uncle |
| <i>Cioum</i> | Grandfather | <i>Encognee</i> | Man |
| <i>Chia Enchāna</i> | Mother | <i>Covon</i> | Son |

Encará

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Encáná</i> | Woman | <i>Háyi</i> | Wind |
| <i>Cance</i> | Wife | <i>Onijo</i> | Water |
| <i>Chegnoun</i> | Child | <i>Gnam</i> | Calm |
| <i>Choi</i> | Head | <i>Tenfagi</i> | Day-light |
| <i>Lal</i> | Forehead | <i>Sciafin</i> | Evening |
| <i>Moha</i> | Nose | <i>Hatahom</i> | Night |
| <i>Holmat</i> | Eyes | <i>Kamhen</i> | Noon |
| <i>Manonge</i> | Lips | <i>Menzovi</i> | Yesterday |
| <i>Caleta</i> | Tongue | <i>Hola&as</i> | To-morrow |
| <i>Incaougn</i> | Chin | <i>Charou</i> | Great |
| <i>Nann</i> | Ears | <i>Mombéschi</i> | Small |
| <i>Enchojon</i> | Hairs | <i>Koan</i> | Strong |
| <i>Halikolala</i> | Neck | <i>At loan</i> | Weak |
| <i>Thà</i> | Breast | <i>Jo</i> | Yes |
| <i>Vhian</i> | Belly | <i>At chiou</i> | No |
| <i>Foun</i> | Navel | <i>Lapoa</i> | Is good |
| <i>Choal</i> | Arm | <i>Pisi</i> | Is enough |
| <i>Eckait</i> | Shoulders | <i>Thiou</i> | Me or I |
| <i>Och</i> | Back | <i>Mhihe</i> | You |
| <i>Kinitay</i> | Hand&fingers | <i>Kalakala younde</i> | Farewell |
| <i>Poto</i> | Thigh | <i>Emloum</i> | Gold |
| <i>Colcanon</i> | Knee | <i>Henoe</i> | Fire |
| <i>Hanhan</i> | Leg | <i>Dheah</i> | Water |
| <i>Ciscoa</i> | Nail | <i>Lhoe</i> | Cloth |
| <i>Hignoughn</i> | Beard | <i>Lanoa</i> | Astrip they wear |
| <i>Tohon</i> | Sick | <i>Gni</i> | House |
| <i>Lha-ha</i> | Dead | <i>Tanop</i> | Pipe |
| <i>Hivi</i> | Devil | <i>Carrovaj</i> | Lemon |
| <i>Hen</i> | Sun | <i>Hoat</i> | Old Cocoa-nut |
| <i>Chae</i> | Moon | <i>Gninoo</i> | Green Cocoa-nut |

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Nat</i> | Cane | <i>Laam</i> | To lay down |
| <i>Pantan</i> | Rattan | <i>Hancihatena</i> | Come hither |
| <i>Aptejo</i> | Chest | <i>Ciou</i> | Be gone |
| <i>Cerum</i> | Needle | <i>Hethaj</i> | To laugh |
| <i>Hendel</i> | Musket | <i>Houm</i> | To weep |
| <i>Henathoa</i> | Knife | <i>Hanan</i> | To dance |
| <i>Danon</i> | Medicine | <i>Hame</i> | To rain |
| <i>Heja</i> | Betel Nut | <i>Pheumhoj</i> | To smoke |
| <i>Acaë</i> | Betel Leaf | <i>Hansciounga</i> | To walk |
| <i>Cion</i> | Lime | <i>Duonde</i> | To paddle or row |
| <i>Chapeo</i> | Hat | <i>Poushili</i> | To set down |
| <i>Lenzo</i> | Handkerchief | <i>Hahahon</i> | To vomit |
| These two last words | | <i>Achicienga</i> | To stand |
| are borrowed from the | | <i>Hichiackeri</i> | To speak |
| <i>Portuguese.</i> | | <i>Athe het</i> | To write |
| <i>Hanchan Cha-peo</i> | Put on your hat | <i>Ajouhy</i> | To light |
| <i>Not</i> | A hog | <i>Luva</i> | Lead |
| <i>Ham</i> | A dog | <i>Carán</i> | Iron |
| <i>Cochin</i> | A cat | <i>Chánlo</i> | Shirt and coat |
| <i>Taffoach</i> | Hen | <i>Hañnhă</i> | Breeches |
| <i>Ohia</i> | Egg | <i>Hanho lola</i> | Stockings |
| <i>Inlegne</i> | Bird's Nest | <i>Dhanapola</i> | Shoes |
| <i>Cattoch</i> | Parrot | <i>Halhat</i> | Bracelet |
| <i>Cha</i> | Fish | <i>Henpòjou</i> | Chair |
| <i>Cap</i> | Tortoiseshell | <i>Cheráchà</i> | Table |
| <i>Hanino</i> | To eat | <i>Pará</i> | Dollar, or silver |
| <i>Peoum</i> | To drink | <i>Thanula</i> | Black |
| <i>Etaja</i> | To sleep | <i>Chunla</i> | Red |
| <i>Ha-caou</i> | To buy | <i>Unat</i> | White |
| <i>Hen vhej</i> | To sell | <i>Cambalamagn</i> | Striped cloth |

NUMERALS.

| | | | |
|---------------|-------|------------------------|---------|
| <i>Heàn</i> | One | <i>Eancata</i> | Nine |
| <i>Haà</i> | Two | <i>Sicom</i> | Ten |
| <i>Loe</i> | Three | <i>Sicom hean</i> | Eleven |
| <i>Toàn</i> | Four | <i>Sicom háa</i> | Twelve |
| <i>Tanèe</i> | Five | <i>Hemom thouma</i> | Twenty |
| <i>Tafou!</i> | Six | <i>Rocate</i> | Thirty |
| <i>Isat</i> | Seven | <i>Toanmoan,thiuma</i> | Forty |
| <i>Enfoan</i> | Eight | <i>Sicom sicom</i> | Hundred |

It seems that they have no expreffion for the numbers beyond forty, except by multiplication.

Trees of great height and fize are to be feen in their woods, of a compact texture, well calculated for naval conftructions* ; but the productions of which they are more particularly careful, are the cocoa and *areca* trees, the laft being chiefly for their own confumption ; as they chew it all day long with tobacco, betel-leaf, and fhell-lime : the former is not only ufeful for their own and their hogs' nourifhment, but alfo an object of trade. Moft of the country fhips, that are bound to *Pegu* from either of the coafts of *India*, touch at the *Nicobar* Iflands, in order to procure a cargo of cocoa-nuts, which they purchafe at the rate of four for a tobacco-leaf, and one hundred for a yard of blue cloth, and a bottle of cocoa-nut oil for four leaves of tobacco.

The

* One of thefe trees our people cut down, that meafured nine fathoms in circumference, or fifty-four feet.

The tropical fruits grow in those islands exquisitely flavoured, the pine-apple in particular: wild cinnamon and saffraſas grow there alſo; the coffee-tree in two years yields fruit; yams are to be found for three or four months in the year only, and are eaten by the natives inſtead of the *Larum*, a nutritive fruit; in the deſcription of which, and the tree that produces it, we ſhall here endeavour to be very particular.

The tree that bears this nutritive fruit, is a ſpecies of *Palm*, called by them *Larum*; by the *Portugueſe* *Mellóri*; and is very abundant in thoſe iſlands, as well as in *Carnicobar*: it grows promiſcuouſly in the woods, among other trees, but it delights more particularly in a damp ſoil. The trunk is often ſtraight, thirty or thirty-five feet high, and ten or twelve inches (the old-eſt even two feet) in circumference: the bark is ſmooth, aſh-coloured, with equidiſtant interſections, of a compact hard texture in its interior part, but ſoft, and quite hollow, in the centre from the top of the trunk; the leaves grow diſpoſed like a calyx, about three feet long, and four inches broad, enſiform and aculeate, of a dark green hue, and of a tenacious hard ſubſtance: the roots are out of the ground, and inſerted at eight or ten feet on the trunk, according to its age, being not quite two feet in the earth: the fruit, which has the ſhape of a pine, and the ſize of a large *Jaca*, comes out of the bottom of the leaves: the age of a man is ſeldom ſufficient to ſee the trees bearing fruit: its weight forces it out of the leaves, and when it is nearly ripe, which is known by the natives on the change of its colour from green to yellowiſh, it is gathered, and weighs from thirty to forty pounds. The drupes are looſened by thruſting a piece of iron between their interſtices: the exterior ſurface is cut off, and thus put into earthen pots covered with leaves, then boiled on a ſlow fire for ſeveral hours together: the fruit is ſufficiently boiled, when the medullary part of it becomes ſoft and friable; it is then taken from the fire, and ex-

posed to the cold air ; when cold, the drupes are separated from the stalk, and the medullary part pressed out by means of a shell forced into them. Within the woody part of the drupes, there are two seeds, in shape and taste much like almonds : the soft part is then collected into a spherical mass ; and, in order to extract all the stringy fragments remaining in it by the compression of the shell, a thread is passed and repassed, until the whole is extracted, and it comes out perfectly clean : it is then of a pale yellow colour, much resembling *polenta*, or the dressed meal of the *Zea Mays*, and in taste much like it : when not newly prepared, it has an acidity, to which it tends very strongly, if long exposed to the atmosphere ; but it may be preserved a long time, if well covered.

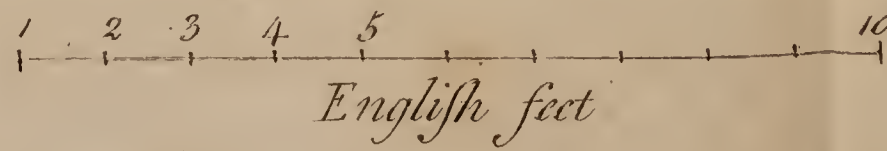
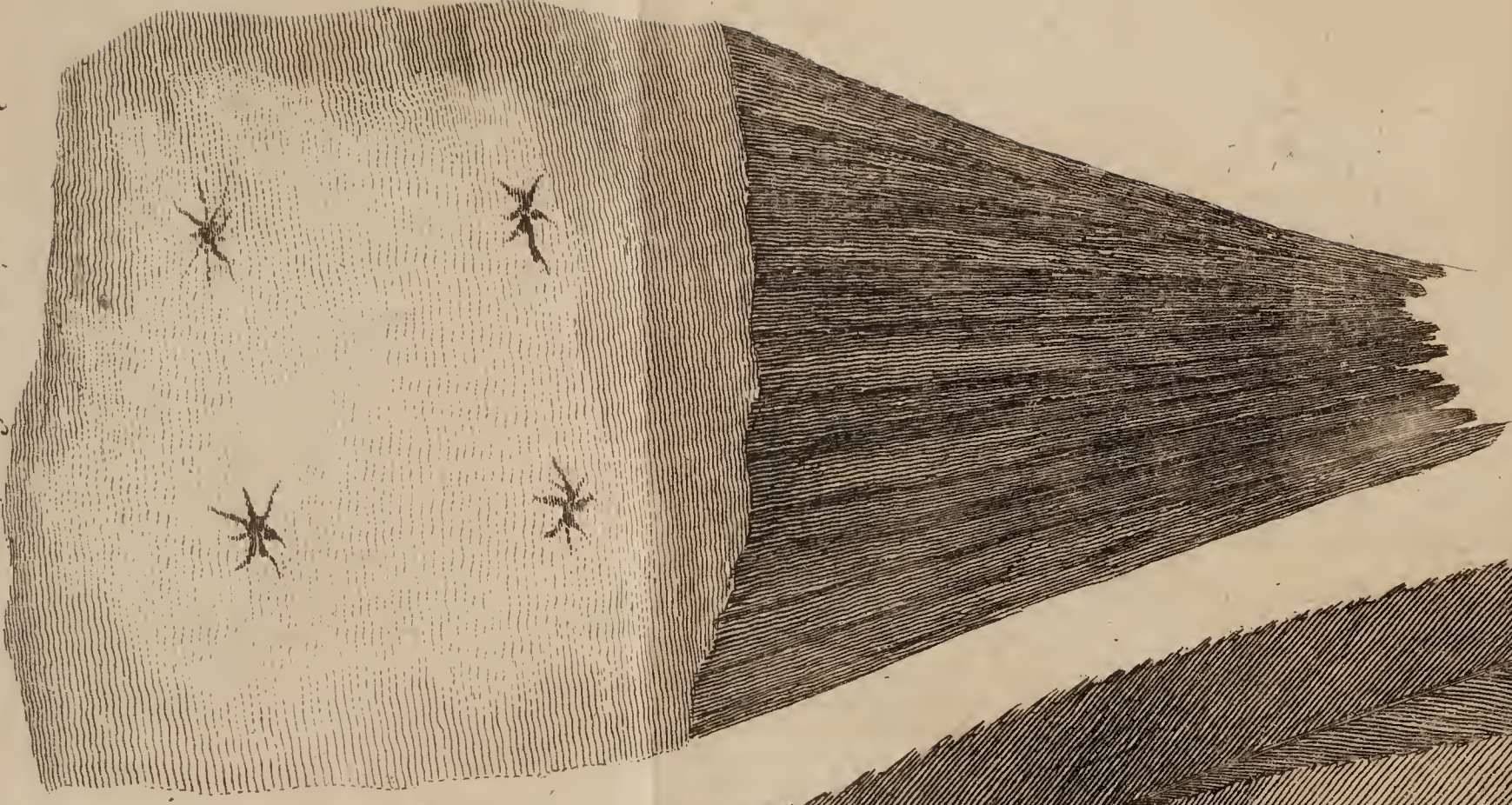
It is certain, that the *Nicobar* bread-fruit tree differs very essentially from the palm described by Mr. Masson, and found in the interior parts of *Africa*, which bears a sort of bread-fruit. On my showing to Mr. Masson, in *March*, 1790, the drawing of the tree here described, he was pleasingly surprised at the novelty, and declared he had never before seen it. It differs also from the bread-fruit-tree found in *Otaheite*, and described by Captain Cook in his Voyage round the World, as will appear very evident on a reference to the notes of that work. Some shrubs, whose leaves resemble much those of the *Nicobar* bread-fruit tree, are to be seen on the *Coromandel* Coast, and in the Isle of France, where they thrive in some degree, but never attain the height of those at *Nicobar* : imperfect small fruits are seen once a year sprouting out ; and the inhabitants derive an advantage from the leaves of the tree, which they convert into mats and bags to hold coffee.



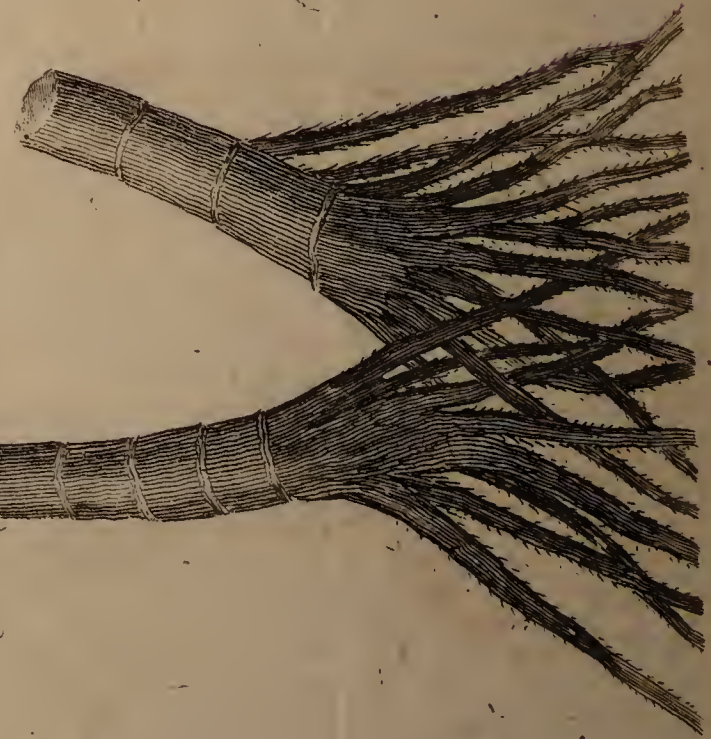
The Fruit

diminished

a Drupe of its Natural size



*The Ceteua or
Pandanus
of
Aicobar.*



NOTE *by the* PRESIDENT.

As far as we can determine the class and order of a plant from a mere delineation of its fruit, we may safely pronounce, that the *Léram* of *Nicobar* is the *Cádhi* of the *Arabs*, the *Cétaca* of the *Indians*, and the *Pandanus* of our botanists, which is described *very awkwardly* (as KOENIG first observed to me) in the Supplement to LINNÆUS: he had himself described with that *elegant conciseness*, which constitutes the beauty of the *Linnean* method, not only the wonderful fructification of the fragrant *Cétaca*, but most of the flowers, which are celebrated in *Sanscrit*, by poets for their colour or scent, and by physicians for their medical uses; and, as he bequeathed his manuscripts to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, we may be sure, that the public spirit of that illustrious naturalist will not suffer the labours of his learned friend to be sunk in oblivion. Whether the *PANDANUS Léram* be a new *species*, or only a variety, we cannot yet positively decide; but four of the plants have been brought from *Nicobar*, and seem to flourish in the Company's Botanical Garden, where they will probably blossom; and the greatest encouragement will, I trust, be given to the cultivation of so precious a vegetable. A fruit weighing twenty or thirty pounds, and containing a farinaceous substance, both palatable and nutritive in a high degree, would, perhaps, if it were common in these provinces, for ever secure the natives of them from the horrors of famine; and the *Pandanus* of *Bengal* might be brought, I conceive, to equal perfection with that of *Nicobar*; if due care were taken to plant the male and female trees in the same place, instead of leaving the female, as at present, to bear an imperfect and unproductive fruit, and the distant male to spread itself only by the help of its radicating branches.

NOTE on PAGE 150.

Though little can be added to M. POIVRE's description of the *Salangane*, or *Hirundo, nidis edulibus*, yet as Captain FORREST was a perfect master of the *Malay* tongue, and described only what he had seen, it will not be amiss to subjoin his account of that singular bird. "The bird with
 "an edible nest is called, says he, *Jaimaláni* by the natives of the *Moluccas*,
 "and *Layang-layang* by the *Malays*: it is black as jet, and very much
 "like a marten, but considerably smaller. Its nests, which the *Malays*
 "call *Sarang*, are found in caves, and generally in those to which the
 "sea has access; and, as they are built in rows on perpendicular rocks,
 "from which the young birds frequently fall, those caves are frequented
 "by fish, and often by snakes, who are hunting for prey: they are made
 "of a slimy gelatinous substance found on the shore, of the sea-weed called
 "agal agal, and of soft greenish sily matter, often seen on rocks in the
 "shade when the water oozes from above. Before a man enters such a
 "cave, he should frighten out the birds, or keep his face covered. The
 "*Jaimaláni* lays her eggs four times a year, but only two at a time: if
 "her nest be not torn from the rock, she will use it once more, but it then
 "becomes dirty and black; a nest used but once before it is gathered, must
 "be dried in the shade, since it easily absorbs moisture, and, if exposed to
 "the sun, becomes red. Such edible nests are sometimes found in caves
 "which the sea never enters, but they are always of a dark hue, instead
 "of being, like that now produced, very nearly pellucid: they may be
 "met with in rocky islands over the whole eastern Archipelago, (by far
 "the largest in the world,) but never, I believe, on the coast of *China*,
 "whither multitudes of them are carried from *Batavia*. The white and
 "transparent nests are highly esteemed, and sold at *Batavia* for seven,
 "eight, nine, or ten dollars a catty of $1\frac{1}{3}$ lb. but the crafty *Chinese*, at
 "that port, who pack up the nests one in another, to the length of a foot
 "or eighteen inches, that they may not easily be broken, seldom fail, by
 "a variety of artifices, to impose on their employers."

VIII.

*On the MYSTICAL POETRY of the PERSIANS
and HINDUS.**By the PRESIDENT.*

A FIGURATIVE mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits toward their Beneficent Creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in *Asia*; particularly among the *Persian* theists, both ancient *Húshangis* and modern *Súfis*, who seem to have borrowed it from the *Indian* philosophers of the *Védánta* school; and their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime, but poetical, theology, which glows and sparkles in the writings of the old *Academicks*. “PLATO travelled into *Italy* and *Egypt*, says CLAUDE FLEURY, to learn the theology of the Pagans at its fountain head:” its true fountain, however, was neither in *Italy* nor in *Egypt*, (though considerable streams of it had been conducted thither by PYTHAGORAS, and by the family of MISRA,) but in *Persia* or *India*, which the founder of the *Italick* sect had visited with a similar design. What the *Grecian* travellers learned among the sages of the east, may perhaps be fully explained at a season of leisure, in another dissertation; but we confine this essay to a singular species of poetry, which consists almost wholly of a mystical religious allegory, though it seems, on a transient view, to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism: now, admitting the danger of a poetical style, in which the limits between vice and enthusiasm are so minute as to be hardly distinguishable, we must beware of censuring it severely, and must allow it to be natural, though a warm imagination may carry it to a culpable excess; for an ardently grateful piety is congenial to the undepraved nature of man, whose mind, sinking under the magnitude of the subject, and struggling to express

expresses its emotions, has recourse to metaphors and allegories, which it sometimes extends beyond the bounds of cool reason, and often to the brink of absurdity. BARROW, who would have been the sublimest mathematician, if his religious turn of mind had not made him the deepest theologian of his age, describes Love as “an affection or inclination of the soul toward an object, proceeding from an apprehension and esteem of some excellence or convenience in it, as its *beauty*, worth, or utility, and producing, if it be absent, a proportionable desire, and consequently an endeavour to obtain such a property in it, such possession of it, such an *approximation to it, or union with it*, as the thing is capable of; with a regret and displeasure in failing to obtain it, or in the want and loss of it; begetting likewise a complacence, satisfaction, and delight, in its presence, possession, or enjoyment, which is moreover attended with a good-will toward it suitable to its nature; that is, with a desire that it should arrive at, or continue in, its best state; with a delight to perceive it thrive and flourish; with a displeasure to see it suffer or decay; with a consequent endeavour to advance it in all good, and preserve it from all evil.” Agreeably to this description, which consists of two parts, and was designed to comprise the tender love of the Creator towards created spirits, the great philosopher bursts forth in another place, with his usual animation, and command of language, into the following panegyrick on the pious love of human souls toward the Author of their happiness: “Love is the sweetest and most delectable of all passions; and, when by the conduct of wisdom, it is directed in a rational way toward a worthy, congruous, and attainable object, it cannot otherwise than fill the heart with ravishing delight: such, in all respects, superlatively such, is God; who, infinitely beyond all other things, deserveth our affection, as most perfectly amiable and desirable; as having obliged us

“ by

“ by innumerable and inestimable benefits ; all the
 “ good that we have ever enjoyed, or can ever ex-
 “ pect, being derived from his pure bounty ; all things
 “ in the world in competition with him being mean
 “ and ugly ; all things without him, vain, unprofitable,
 “ and hurtful to us. He is the most proper object of
 “ our love ; for we chiefly were framed, and it is the
 “ prime law of our nature, to love him ; *our soul, from*
 “ *its original instinct, vergeth towards him as its centre,*
 “ *and can have no rest till it be fixed on him :* he alone
 “ can satisfy the vast capacity of our minds, and fill
 “ our boundless desires. He, of all lovely things,
 “ most certainly and easily may be attained ; for,
 “ whereas, commonly men are crossed in their affec-
 “ tion, and their love is embittered from their affect-
 “ ing things imaginary, which they cannot reach, or
 “ coy things, which disdain and reject them, it is with
 “ God quite otherwise : He is most ready to impart
 “ himself ; he most earnestly desireth and wooeth our
 “ love ; he is not only most willing to correspond in
 “ affection, but even doth prevent us therein : *He doth*
 “ *cherish and encourage our love by sweetest influences,*
 “ *and most consoling embraces,* by kindest expressions
 “ of favour, by most beneficial returns ; and, whereas
 “ all other objects do in the enjoyment much fail our
 “ expectation, he doth even far exceed it. Wherefore
 “ in all affectionate motions of our hearts toward
 “ God ; in *desiring* him, or seeking his favour and
 “ friendship ; in *embracing* him, or setting our esteem,
 “ our good will, our confidence on him ; in *enjoying*
 “ him by devotional meditations and addresses to him ;
 “ in a reflective sense of our interest and propriety in
 “ him ; in *that mysterious union of spirit, whereby*
 “ *we do closely adhere to, and are, as it were, inserted*
 “ *in him ;* in a hearty complacence in his benignity, a
 “ grateful sense of his kindness, and a zealous desire
 “ of yielding some requital for it, we cannot but feel
 “ very pleasant transports : indeed, that celestial flame,
 “ kindled in our hearts by the spirit of love, cannot
 “ be

“ be void of warmth ; we cannot fix our eyes upon
 “ *infinite beauty*, we cannot taste infinite sweetness, we
 “ cannot cleave to infinite felicity, without also per-
 “ petually rejoicing in the first daughter of Love to
 “ GOD, Charity toward men ; which, in complexion
 “ and careful disposition, doth much resemble her
 “ mother ; for she doth rid us from all these gloomy,
 “ keen, turbulent imaginations and passions, which
 “ cloud our mind, which fret our heart, which dis-
 “ compose the frame of our soul ; from burning an-
 “ ger, from storming contention, from gnawing envy,
 “ from rankling spite, from racking suspicion, from
 “ distracting ambition and avarice ; and consequent-
 “ ly, doth settle our mind in an even temper, in a
 “ sedate humour, in an harmonious order, in *that*
 “ *pleasant state of tranquillity, which naturally doth*
 “ *result from the voidance of irregular passions.*” Now
 this passage from BARROW (which borders, I admit,
 on quietism and enthusiastick devotion) differs only
 from the mystical theology of the *Súfis* and *Yógis*, as
 the flowers and fruit of *Europe* differ in scent and fla-
 vour from those of *Asia*, or as *European* differs from
Asiatick eloquence : the same strain, in poetical mea-
 sure, would rise up to the odes of SPENSER on *Divine*
Love and *Beauty* ; and in a higher key, with richer em-
 bellishments, to the songs of HAFIZ and JAYADE’VA,
 the raptures of the *Masnavi*, and the mysteries of the
Bhágavat.

Before we come to the *Persians* and *Indians*, let me
 produce another specimen of *European* theology, col-
 lected from a late excellent work of the illustrious
 M. NEKER. “ Were men animated, says he, with
 “ sublime thoughts, did they respect the intellectual
 “ power with which they are adorned, and take an
 “ interest in the dignity of their nature, they would
 “ embrace with transport that sense of religion, which
 “ ennobles their faculties, keeps their minds in full
 “ strength, and unites them in idea with him whose
 “ immensity

“ immensity overwhelms them with astonishment: *con-*
 “ *sidering themselves as an emanation from that infinite*
 “ *Being*, the source and cause of all things, they would
 “ then disdain to be misled by a gloomy and false
 “ philosophy, and would cherish the idea of a God,
 “ who *created*, who *regenerates*, who *preserves* this uni-
 “ verse by invariable laws, and by a continued chain
 “ of similar causes producing similar effects; who per-
 “ vades all nature with his divine spirit, as an univer-
 “ sal soul, which moves, directs, and restrains the
 “ wonderful fabrick of this world. The blissful idea
 “ of a God sweetens every moment of our time, and
 “ embellishes before us the path of life; unites us de-
 “ lightfully to all the beauties of nature, and asso-
 “ ciates us with every thing that lives or moves. Yes;
 “ the whisper of the gales, the murmur of waters, the
 “ peaceful agitation of trees and shrubs, would concur
 “ to engage our minds, and *affect our souls with tender-*
 “ *ness*, if our thoughts were elevated to *one universal*
 “ *cause*, if we recognized on all sides the work of *Him*
 “ *whom we love*; if we marked the traces of his august
 “ steps, and benignant intentions; if we believed our-
 “ selves actually present at the display of his bound-
 “ less power, and the magnificent exertions of his
 “ unlimited goodness. Benevolence, among all the
 “ virtues, has a character more than human, and a
 “ certain amiable simplicity in its nature, which seems
 “ analogous to the *first idea*, the original intention of
 “ conferring delight, which we necessarily suppose in
 “ the Creator, when we presume to seek his motive
 “ in bestowing existence. Benevolence is that virtue,
 “ or, to speak more emphatically, that *primordial beau-*
 “ *ty*, which preceded all times and all worlds; and
 “ when we reflect on it, there appears an analogy, ob-
 “ scure indeed at present, and to us imperfectly known,
 “ between our moral nature and a time yet very re-
 “ mote, when we shall satisfy our ardent wishes and
 “ lively hopes, which constitute perhaps a sixth, and
 “ (if the phrase may be used) a distant sense. It may
 “ even

“ even be imagined, that love, the brightest ornament
 “ of our nature, love, enchanting and sublime, is a
 “ mysterious pledge for the assurance of those hopes;
 “ since love, by disengaging us from ourselves, by
 “ transporting us beyond the limits of our own being,
 “ is the first step in our progress to a joyful immorta-
 “ lity ; and, by affording both the notion and example
 “ of a cherished object distinct from our own souls,
 “ may be considered as an interpreter to our hearts of
 “ something which our intellects cannot conceive.
 “ We may seem even to hear the supreme intelligence
 “ and eternal soul of all nature, give this commission
 “ to the spirits which emanated from him : *Go ; admire*
 “ *a small portion of my works, and study them ; make*
 “ *your first trial of happiness, and learn to love him*
 “ *who bestowed it ; but seek not to remove the veil*
 “ *spread over the secret of your existence : your nature*
 “ *is composed of those divine particles, which, at an infi-*
 “ *nite distance, constitute my own essence : but you would*
 “ *be too near me, were you permitted to penetrate the*
 “ *mystery of our separation and union : wait the moment*
 “ *ordained by my wisdom ; and, until that moment come,*
 “ *hope to approach me only by adoration and gratitude.*”

If these two passages were translated into *Sanscrit*
 and *Persian*, I am confident, that the *Védāntes* and
Súfis would consider them as an epitome of their com-
 mon system ; for they concur in believing that the
 souls of men differ infinitely in *degree*, but not at all in
kind, from the divine spirit, of which they are *particles*,
 and in which they will ultimately be absorbed ; that
 the spirit of God pervades the universe, always imme-
 diately present to his work, and consequently always
 in substance ; that he alone is perfect benevolence,
 perfect truth, perfect beauty ; that the love of him
 alone is *real* and genuine love, while that of all other
 objects is *absurd* and illusory ; that the beauties of na-
 ture are faint resemblances, like images in a mirror, of
 the divine charms ; that, from eternity without begin-
 ning,

ning, to eternity without end, the supreme benevolence is occupied in bestowing happiness, or the means of attaining it: that men can only attain it by performing their part of the *primal covenant* between them and the Creator; that nothing has a pure absolute existence but *mind* or *spirit*; that *material substances*, as the ignorant call them, are no more than gay *pictures*, presented continually to our *minds* by the sempiternal artist; that we must beware of attachment to such *phantoms*, and attach ourselves exclusively to God, who truly exists in us, as we exist solely in him; that we retain, even in this forlorn state of separation from our beloved, the *idea* of heavenly beauty, and the *remembrance* of our *primeval vows*; that sweet musick, gentle breezes, fragrant flowers, perpetually renew the primary *idea*, refresh our fading memory, and melt us with tender affections; that we must cherish those affections, and, by abstracting our souls from *vanity*, that is, from all but God, approximate to his essence, in our final union with which will consist our supreme beatitude. From these principles flow a thousand metaphors, and other poetical figures, which abound in the sacred poems of the *Persians* and *Hindus*, who seem to mean the same thing in substance, and differ only in expression, as their languages differ in idiom! The modern SU'FIS, who profess a belief in the *Koran*, suppose, with great sublimity both of thought and of diction, an *express contract*, on the day of eternity with beginning, between the assemblage of created spirits and the supreme soul, from which they were detached, when a celestial voice pronounced these words, addressed to each spirit separately: "Art thou not with thy Lord?" that is, art thou not bound by a solemn contract with him? and all the spirits answered with one voice, "Yes:" hence it is, that *alif*, or art thou not? and *beli*, or yes, incessantly occur in the mystical verses of the *Persians*, and of the *Turkish* poets, who imitate them, as the *Romans* imitated the *Greeks*. The *Hindus* describe the same covenant

covenant under the figurative notion, so finely expressed by ISAIAH, of a *nuptial contract*; for, considering GOD in the three characters of Creator, Regenerator, and Preserver, and supposing the power of *Preservation* and *Benevolence* to have become incarnate in the person of CRISHNA, they represent him as married to RA'DHA', a word signifying *atonement*, *pacification*, or *satisfaction*, but applied allegorically to the *soul of man*, or rather to the *whole assemblage of created souls*, between whom and the benevolent Creator they suppose that *reciprocal* love, which BARROW describes with a glow of expression perfectly oriental, and which our most orthodox theologians believe to have been mystically *shadowed* in the Song of SOLOMON, while they admit that, in a *literal* sense, it is an epithalamium on the marriage of the sapient king with the princess of *Egypt*. The very learned author of the *Prelections on Sacred Poetry* declared his opinion, that the Canticles were founded on historical truth, but involved in allegory of that sort which he named *mystical*: and the beautiful poem on the loves of LAILI and MAJNUM, by the inimitable NIZA'MI, (to say nothing of other poems on the same subject,) is indisputably built on true history, yet avowedly allegorical and mysterious; for the introduction to it is a continued rapture on *divine love*; and the name of LAILI seems to be used in the *Masnavi*, and the Odes of HAFIZ, for the omnipresent spirit of GOD.

It has been made a question, whether the poems of HAFIZ must be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense; but the question does not admit of a general and direct answer; for even the most enthusiastick of his commentators allow, that some of them are to be taken literally; and his editors ought to have distinguished them, as our SPENSER has distinguished his four odes on *Love* and *Beauty*, instead of mixing the profane with the divine, by a childish arrangement according

cording to the alphabetical order of the rhymes. HAFIZ never pretended to more than human virtues, and it is known he had human propensities; for, in his youth, he was passionately in love with a girl surnamed *Shákhi Nebât*, or the *Branch of Sugarcane*, and the Prince of *Shiraz* was his rival: since there is an agreeable wildness in the story, and since the poet himself alludes to it in one of his odes, I give it you at length from the commentary. There is a place called *Pirifebz*, or the *Green Old Man*, about four *Persian* leagues from the city; and a popular opinion had long prevailed, that a youth, who should pass forty successive nights in *Pirifebz* without sleep, would infallibly become an excellent poet: young HAFIZ had accordingly made a vow, that he would serve that apprenticeship with the utmost exactness, and for thirty-nine days he rigorously discharged his duty, walking every morning before the house of his coy mistress, taking some refreshment and rest at noon, and passing the night awake at his poetical station; but, on the fortieth morning, he was transported with joy on seeing the girl beckon to him through the lattices, and invite him to enter: she received him with rapture, declared her preference of a bright genius to the son of a king, and would have detained him all night, if he had not recollected his vow, and, resolving to keep it inviolate, returned to his post. The people of *Shiraz* add, (and the fiction is grounded on a couplet of HAFIZ,) that early next morning, *an old man in a green mantle*, who was no less a personage than KHIZR himself, approached him at *Pirifebz* with a cup brim full of nectar, which the *Greeks* would have called the water of *Aganippe*, and rewarded his perseverance with an inspiring draught of it. After his juvenile passions had subsided, we may suppose that his mind took that religious bent which appears in most of his compositions; for there can be no doubt that the following distichs, collected from different odes, relate to the mystical theology of the *Súfis*:

“ In eternity without beginning, a ray of thy beauty
“ began to gleam ; when love sprang into being, and
“ cast flames over all nature :

“ On that day thy cheek sparkled even under thy
“ veil, and all this beautiful imagery appeared on the
“ mirror of our fancies.

“ Rise, my soul ; that I may pour thee forth on
“ the pencil of that supreme artist, who comprised
“ in a turn of his compass all this wonderful sce-
“ nery !

“ From the moment when I heard the divine
“ sentence, *I have breathed into man a portion of my*
“ *spirit*, I was assured that we were His, and He
“ ours.

“ Where are the glad tidings of union with thee,
“ that I may abandon all desire of life ? I am a bird
“ of holiness, and would fain escape from the net of
“ this world.

“ Shed, O Lord, from the cloud of heavenly
“ guidance, one cheering shower, before the mo-
“ ment when I must rise up like a particle of dry
“ dust !

“ The sum of our transactions, in this universe,
“ is nothing ; bring us the wine of devotion ; for
“ the possessions of this world vanish.

“ The true object of heart and soul, is the glory of
“ union with our beloved : that object really exists ;
“ but without it, both heart and soul would have no
“ existence.

“ O the

“ O the blifs of that day, when I fhall depart from
 “ this defolate manfion ; fhall feek reft for my foul ;
 “ and fhall follow the traces of my beloved.

“ Dancing with love of his beauty, like a mote
 “ in a fun-beam, till I reach the fpring and foun-
 “ tain of light, whence yon fun derives all his
 “ luftre !”

The couplets which follow, relate as indubitably
 to human love, and fenfual gratifications :

“ May the hand never fhake, which gathered the
 “ grapes ! May the foot never flip, which preffed
 “ them !

“ That poignant liquor, which the zealot calls the
 “ *mother of fins*, is pleasanter and sweeter to me than
 “ the kifles of a maiden.

“ Wine two years old, and a damfel of fourteen, are
 “ fufficient fociety for me, above all companies, great
 “ or fmall.

“ How delightful is dancing to lively notes, and the
 “ cheerful melody of the flute, efpecially when we
 “ touch the hand of a beautiful girl !

“ *Call for wine, and fcatter flowers around : what*
 “ *more can thou afk from fate ?* Thus fpoke the night-
 “ ingale this morning ; what fayeft thou, fweet rofe, to
 “ his precepts ?

“ Bring thy couch to the garden of rofes, that
 “ thou mayeft kifs the cheeks and lips of lovely
 “ damfels ; quaff rich wine, and fmell odoriferous
 “ bloffoms.

“ O branch

“ O branch of an exquisite rose-plant, for whose
 “ sake dost thou grow ? Ah ! on whom will that smil-
 “ ing rose-bud confer delight ?

“ The rose would have discoursed on the beauties
 “ of my charmer, but the gale was jealous, and stole
 “ her breath before she spoke.

“ In this age, the only friends who are free from
 “ blemish, are a flask of pure wine, and a volume of
 “ elegant love-songs.

“ O the joy of that moment, when the self-suffi-
 “ ciency of inebriation rendered me independent of
 “ the prince and of his minister !”

Many zealous admirers of HA'FIZ insist, that by wine he invariably means *devotion* : and they have gone so far as to compose a dictionary of words in the *language*, as they call it, of the *Súfis* : in that vocabulary, *sleep* is explained by *meditation* on the divine perfections, and perfume by *hope* of the divine favour ; *gales* are *illapses* of grace ; *kisses* and *embraces*, the raptures of piety ; *idolaters*, *infidels*, and *libertines*, are men of the purest religion, and their *idol* is the Creator himself ; the *tabern* is a retired oratory, and its *keeper*, a sage instructor ; *beauty* denotes the *perfection* of the Supreme Being ; *treffes* are the expansion of his glory ; *lips*, the hidden mysteries of his essence ; *down* on the cheek, the world of spirits who encircle his throne ; and a *black mole*, the *point* of indivisible unity : lastly, *wantonness*, *mirth*, and *inebriety*, mean religious ardour, and abstraction from all terrestrial thoughts. The poet himself gives a colour in many passages to such an interpretation ; and without it we can hardly conceive that his poems, or those of his numerous imitators, would be tolerated in a *Muselman* country, especially at *Constantinople*, where they are venerated as divine compositions : it must be admitted, that the sublimity
 of

of the *mystical allegory*, which, like metaphors and comparisons, should be *general* only, not minutely exact, is diminished, if not destroyed, by an attempt at *particular* and *distinct resemblances*; and that the style is open to dangerous misinterpretation, while it supplies real infidels with a pretext for laughing at religion itself.

On this occasion I cannot refrain from producing a most extraordinary ode by a *Súfi* of *Bokáhrà*, who assumed the poetical surname of *ISMAT*: a more modern poet, by prefixing three lines to each couplet, which rhyme with the first hemistich, has very elegantly and ingeniously converted the *Kesidah* into a *Mokhammes*, but I present you only with a literal version of the original distichs.

“ Yesterday, half inebriated, I passed by the quarter where the vintners dwell, to seek the daughter of an infidel who sells wine.

“ At the end of the street, there advanced before me a damsel, with a fairy’s cheeks, who, in the manner of a Pagan, wore her tresses dishevelled over her shoulders like the sacerdotal thread. I said, *O thou, to the arch of whose eye-brow the new moon is a slave, what quarter is this, and where is thy mansion?*

“ She answered: *Cast thy rosary on the ground; bind on thy shoulder the thread of Paganism; throw stones at the glass of piety; and quaff wine from a full goblet:*

“ *After that come before me, that I may whisper a word in thine ear; thou wilt accomplish thy journey, if thou listen to my discourse.*

“ Abandoning my heart, and rapt in extasy, I ran
 “ after her, till I came to a place, in which religion
 “ and reason forsook me.

“ At a distance I beheld a company, all insane and
 “ inebriated, who came boiling and roaring with ar-
 “ dour from the wine of love ;

“ Without cymbals, or lutes, or viols, yet all full
 “ of mirth and melody ; without wine, or goblet, or
 “ flask, yet all incessantly drinking.

“ When the cord of restraint slipped from my
 “ hand, I desired to ask her one question, but she
 “ said, *Silence !*

“ *This is no square temple, to the gate of which thou*
 “ *canst arrive precipitately ; this is no mosque, to which*
 “ *thou canst come with tumult, but without knowledge.*
 “ *This is the banquet-house of infidels, and within it*
 “ *all are intoxicated ; all, from the dawn of eternity, to*
 “ *the day of resurrection, lost in astonishment.*

“ *Depart, then, from the cloister, and take the way*
 “ *to the tavern : cast off the cloak of a dervise, and*
 “ *wear the robe of a libertine.*

“ I obeyed ; and, if thou desirest the same strain
 “ and colour with ISMAT, imitate him, and sell this
 “ world and the next for one drop of pure wine.”

Such is the strange religion, and stranger language,
 of the *Súfis* ; but most of the *Asiatick* poets are of
 that religion, and if we think it worth while to read
 their poems, we must think it worth while to under-
 stand them : their great *Maulaví* assures us, that “ they
 “ profess eager desire, but with no carnal affection, and
 “ circulate

“ circulate the cup, but no material goblet ; since all
 “ things are spiritual in their sect, all is mystery with-
 “ in mystery ;” consistently with which declaration, he
 opens his astonishing work, entitled the *Masnavi*, with
 the following couplets :

Hear how yon reed, in sadly-pleasing tales,
 Departed bliss, and present woe bewails !
 ‘ With me from native banks untimely torn,
 ‘ Love-warbling youths and soft-ey’d virgins mourn.
 ‘ O ! let the heart, by fatal absence rent,
 ‘ Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament ;
 ‘ Who roams in exile from his parent bow’r,
 ‘ Pants to return, and chides each ling’ring hour.
 ‘ My notes, in circles of the grave and gay,
 ‘ Have hail’d the rising, cheer’d the closing day :
 ‘ Each in my fond affections claim’d a part,
 ‘ But none discern’d the secret of my heart.
 ‘ What though my strains and sorrows flow combin’d ?
 ‘ Yet ears are flow, and carnal eyes are blind.
 ‘ Free through each mortal form the spirits roll,
 ‘ But sight avails not.—Can we see the soul ?’
 Such notes breath’d gently from yon vocal frame :
 Breath’d, said I ? no ; ’twas all enliv’ning flame.
 ’Tis love that fills the reed with warmth divine ;
 ’Tis love that sparkles in the racy wine.
 Me, plaintive wand’rer from my peerless maid,
 The reed has fir’d, and all my soul betray’d.
 He gives the bane, and he with balsam cures ;
 Afflicts, yet soothes ; impassions, yet allures.

Delightful pangs his am'rous tales prolong ;
 And LAILI's frantick lover lives in song.
 Not he, who reasons best, this wisdom knows :
 Ears only drink what rapt'rous tongues disclose.
 Nor fruitless deem the reed's heart-piercing pain :
 See sweetness dropping from the parted cane.
 Alternate hope and fear my days divide ;
 I courted Grief, and Anguish was my bride.
 Flow on, sad stream of life ! I smile secure :
 THOU livest ; THOU, the purest of the pure !
 Rise, vig'rous youth ! be free ; be nobly bold ;
 Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold ?
 Go ; to your vase the gather'd main convey :
 What were your stores ? The pittance of a day !
 New plans for wealth your fancies would invent ;
 Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must lie content.
 The man whose robe love's purple arrows rend,
 Bids av'rice rest, and toils tumultuous end.
 Hail, heav'nly love ! true source of endless gains !
 Thy balm restores me, and thy skill sustains.
 Oh, more than GALEN learn'd, than PLATO wise !
 My guide, my law, my joy supreme arise !
 Love warms this frigid clay with mystick fire,
 And dancing mountains leap with young desire.
 Blest is the soul that swims in seas of love,
 And long the life sustain'd by food above.
 With forms imperfect can perfection dwell ?
 Here pause, my song ; and thou, vain world, farewell.

A volume might be filled with similar passages from
 the *Súfi* poets ; from SA'IB, ORFI, MI'R KHOSRAU,
 JA'NI,

JA'MI, HAZI'N, and SA'BIK, who are next in beauty of composition to HA'FIZ and SADI, but next at a considerable distance: from MESI'HI, the most elegant of their *Turkish* imitators; from a few *Hindi* poets of our own times; and from IBNUL FA'RED, who wrote mystical odes in *Arabick*: but we may close this account of the *Súfis* with a passage from the third book of the BUSTAN, the declared subject of which is *divine love*; referring you for a particular detail of their metaphysics and theology, to the *Dabistan* of MOHSANI FANI; and to the pleasing essay, called the *Junction of two Seas*, by that amiable and unfortunate prince, DA'RA' SHECU'H:

“ The love of a being composed, like thyself, of
 “ water and clay, destroys thy patience and peace of
 “ mind; it excites thee, in thy waking hours, with
 “ minute beauties, and engages thee in thy sleep, with
 “ vain imaginations: with such real affection dost thou
 “ lay thy head on her foot, that the universe, in com-
 “ parison of her, vanishes into nothing before thee;
 “ and, since thy gold allures not her eye, gold and
 “ mere earth appear equal in thine. Not a breath
 “ dost thou utter to any one else, for with her thou
 “ hast no room for any other; thou declarest that her
 “ abode is in thine eye, or, when thou closest it, in
 “ thy heart; thou hast no fear of censure from any
 “ man; thou hast no power to be at rest for a moment:
 “ if she demands thy soul, it runs instantly to thy lip;
 “ and if she waves a cimeter over thee, thy head falls
 “ immediately under it. Since an absurd love, with
 “ its basis on air, affects thee so violently, and com-
 “ mands with a sway so despotick, canst thou wonder,
 “ that they who walk in the true path, are drowned in
 “ the sea of mysterious adoration? They disregard
 “ life through affection for its giver; they abandon
 “ the world through remembrance of its maker; they
 “ are inebriated with the melody of amorous com-
 “ plaints:

“plaints; they remember their beloved, and resign
 “to him both this life and the next. Through re-
 “membrance of God, they shun all mankind: they
 “are so enamoured of the cup-bearer, that they spill
 “the wine from the cup. No panacea can heal them,
 “for no mortal can be apprized of their malady; so
 “loudly has rung in their ears, from eternity without
 “beginning, the divine word *alest* with *beli*, the tu-
 “multuous exclamations of all spirits. They are a
 “sect fully employed, but sitting in retirement; their
 “feet are of earth, but their breath is a flame: with
 “a single yell they could rend a mountain from its
 “base; with a single cry they could throw a city into
 “confusion: like wind, they are concealed, and move
 “nimble; like stone, they are silent, yet repeat
 “God’s praises. At early dawn their tears flow so
 “copiously as to wash from their eyes the black pow-
 “der of sleep: though the courser of their fancy ran
 “so swiftly all night, yet the morning finds them left
 “behind in disorder: night and day they are plunged
 “in an ocean of ardent desire, till they are unable,
 “through astonishment, to distinguish night from day.
 “So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him who
 “decorated the human form, that, with the beauty of
 “the form itself, they have no concern; and if ever
 “they behold a beautiful shape, they see in it the
 “mystery of God’s work.

“The wise take not the husk in exchange for the
 “kernel; and he who makes that choice, has no un-
 “derstanding. He only has drunk the pure wine of
 “unity, who has forgotten, by remembering God, all
 “things else in both worlds.”

Let us return to the *Hindus*, among whom we now
 find the same emblematical theology, which PYTHA-
 GORAS admired and adopted. The loves of CRISHNA
 and RADHA, or the reciprocal attraction between the
 2 divine

divine goodness and the human soul, are told at large in the tenth book of the *Bhágavat*, and are the subject of a little *Pastoral Drama*, entitled *Gítagóvinda*: it was the work of JAYADE'VA, who flourished, it is said, before CALIDAS, and was born, as he tells us himself, in *Cenduli*, which many believe to be in *Calinga*; but, since there is a town of a similar name in *Berdwan*, the natives of it insist that the finest lyric poet of *India* was their countryman, and celebrate, in honour of him, an annual jubilee, passing a whole night in representing his drama, and in singing his beautiful songs. After having translated the *Gítagóvinda* word for word, I reduced my translation to the form in which it is now exhibited: omitting only those passages, which are too luxuriant and too bold for an *European* taste, and the prefatory ode on the ten incarnations of VISHNU, with which you have been presented on another occasion: the phrases in *Italicks*, are the burdens of the several songs; and you may be assured, that not a single image or idea has been added by the translator.

GÍTAGÓVINDA;

OR,

THE SONGS OF JAYADÉVA.

THE firmament is obscured by clouds: the woodlands are black with *Tamála*-trees; that youth, who roves in the forest, will be fearful in the gloom of night: go, my daughter; bring the wanderer home to my rustick mansion.' Such was the command of NANDA, the fortunate herdsman; and hence arose the love of RA'DHA' and MA'DHAVA, who sported on the bank of *Yamunà*, or hastened eagerly to the secret bower.

If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of HERI, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of JAYADE'VA, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant. O THOU, who reclinest on the bosom of CAMALA'; whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers; thou, from whom the day-star derived his effulgence, who slewest the venom-breathing CA'LIYA, who beamedst, like a sun, on the tribe of YADU, that flourished like a lotos; thou, who fittest on the plumage of GARURA, who, by subduing demons, gavest exquisite joy to the assembly of immortals; thou, for whom the daughter of JANACA was decked in gay apparel, by whom DU'SHANA was overthrown; thou, whose eye sparkles like the water-lily, who calledst three worlds into existence; thou, by whom the rocks of *Mandar* were easily supported,

ported, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of PEDMA', as the fluttering *Chacóra* drinks the moonbeams ; *be victorious, O HERI, lord of conquest !*

RA'DHA' sought him long in vain, and her thoughts were confounded by the fever of desire : she roved in the vernal morning among the twining *Vásantis* covered with soft blossoms, when a damsel thus addressed her with youthful hilarity : ' The gale, that has waned round the beautiful clove-plants, breathes now from the hills of *Malaya* ; the circling arbours resound with the notes of the *Cócil*, and the murmers of honey-making swarms. Now the hearts of damsels, whose lovers travel at a distance, are pierced with anguish ; while the blossoms of *Bacul* are conspicuous among the flowerets covered with bees. The *Tamála*, with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute from the musk, which it vanquishes ; and the clustering flowers of the *Palása* resemble the nails of CA'MA, with which he rends the hearts of the young. The full-blown *Césara* gleams like the sceptre of the world's monarch, Love ; and the pointed thyrses of the *Cétaca* resembles the darts by which lovers are wounded. See the bunches of *Pátali*-flowers filled with bees, like the quiver of SMARA full of shafts ; while the tender blossom of the *Caruna* smiles to see the whole world laying shame aside. The far-scented *Mádhavi* beautifies the trees round which it twines ; and the fresh *Mallicá* seduces, with rich perfume, even the hearts of hermits ; while the *Amra*-tree with blooming tresses is embraced by the gay creeper *Atimuṭṭa*, and the blue streams of *Yamunā* wind round the groves of *Vrindāvan*. In this charming season, which gives pain to separated lovers, young HERI sports and dances with a company of damsels. A breeze, like the breath of love, from the fragrant flowers of the *Cétaca*, kindles every heart, whilst it perfumes the woods with the dust which it shakes from the *Mallicá* with half-opened buds ; and the

' *Cócila*

‘ *Cócila* bursts into song, when he sees the blossoms
 ‘ glistening on the lovely *Rasála*.’

The jealous RA'DHA' gave no answer; and, soon after, her officious friend, perceiving the foe of MURARA in the forest, eager for the rapturous embraces of the herdsman's daughters, with whom he was dancing, thus again addressed his forgotten mistress: ‘ With a
 ‘ garland of wild flowers descending even to the yellow
 ‘ mantle, that girds his azure limbs, distinguished by
 ‘ smiling cheeks, and by ear-rings that sparkle as he
 ‘ plays, HERI *exults in the assemblage of amorous dam-*
 ‘ *sels*. One of them presses him with her swelling
 ‘ breast, while she warbles with exquisite melody.
 ‘ Another, affected by a glance from his eye, stands
 ‘ meditating on the lotos of his face. A third, on
 ‘ pretence of whispering a secret in his ear, approaches
 ‘ his temples, and kisses them with ardour. One seizes
 ‘ his mantle, and draws him towards her, pointing to
 ‘ the bower on the banks of *Yamunà*, where elegant
 ‘ *Vanjulas* interweave their branches. He applauds
 ‘ another who dances in the sportive circle, whilst
 ‘ her bracelets ring as she beats time with her palms.
 ‘ Now he caresses one, and kisses another, smiling on
 ‘ a third with complacency; and now he chases her
 ‘ whose beauty has most allured him. Thus the wan-
 ‘ ton HERI frolicks, in the season of sweets, among
 ‘ the maids of *Vraja*, who rush to his embraces, as if
 ‘ he were Pleasure itself assuming a human form; and
 ‘ one of them, under a pretext of hymning his divine
 ‘ perfections, whispers in his ear, “ Thy lips, my be-
 ‘ loved, are nectar.”

RA'DHA' remains in the forest: but resenting the promiscuous passion of HERI, and his neglect of her beauty, which he once thought superior, she retires to a bower of twining plants, the summit of which resounds with the hummings of swarms engaged in their
 sweet

sweet labours; and there, falling languid on the
 ground, she thus addresses her female companion.
 ' *Though he take recreation in my absence, and smile on*
 ' *all around him, yet my soul remembers Him, whose be-*
 ' *guiling reed modulates a tune sweetened by the nectar*
 ' *of his quivering lip, while his ear sparkles with gems,*
 ' *and his eye darts amorous glances; Him, whose*
 ' *locks are decked with the plumes of peacocks re-*
 ' *splendent with many-coloured moons, and whose*
 ' *mantle gleams like a dark-blue cloud illumined with*
 ' *rain-bows; Him, whose graceful smile gives new*
 ' *lustre to his lips, brilliant and soft as a dewy leaf,*
 ' *sweet and ruddy as the blossom of Bandhujiva,*
 ' *while they tremble with eagerness to kiss the daugh-*
 ' *ters of the herdsmen; Him, who disperses the gloom*
 ' *with beams from the jewels which decorate his bo-*
 ' *som, his wrists, and his ancles; on whose forehead*
 ' *shines a circlet of sandal-wood, which makes even the*
 ' *moon contemptible, when it falls through irradiated*
 ' *clouds; Him, whose ear-rings are formed of entire*
 ' *gems in the shape of the fish Macar on the banners*
 ' *of Love; even the yellow-robed God, whose attend-*
 ' *ants are the chiefs of deities, of holy men, and of*
 ' *demons; Him, who reclines under a gay Cadamba-*
 ' *tree; who formerly delighted me, while he gracefully*
 ' *waved in the dance, and all his soul sparkled in his*
 ' *eye. My weak mind thus enumerates his qualities;*
 ' *and, though offended, strives to banish offence.*
 ' *What else can it do? It cannot part with its affection*
 ' *for CHRISHNA, whose love is excited by other dam-*
 ' *sels, and who sports in the absence of RA'DHA'.*
 ' *Bring, O friend, that vanquisher of the demon CE'SI,*
 ' *to sport with me, who am repairing to a secret bower,*
 ' *who look timidly on all sides, who meditate with amo-*
 ' *rous fancy on his divine transfiguration. Bring him*
 ' *whose discourse was once composed of the gentlest*
 ' *words, to converse with me, who am bashful on his*
 ' *first approach, and express my thoughts with a smile*
 ' sweet

' sweet as honey. Bring him, who formerly slept on
 ' my bosom, to recline with me on a green bed of
 ' leaves just gathered, while his lip sheds dew, and my
 ' arms enfold him. Bring him, who has attained the
 ' perfection of skill in love's art, whose hand used to
 ' press these firm and delicate spheres, to play with
 ' me; whose voice rivals that of the *Cócil*, and whose
 ' tresses are bound with waving blossoms. Bring him,
 ' who formerly drew me by the locks to his embrace,
 ' to repose with me, whose feet tinkle as they move,
 ' with rings of gold and of gems; whose loosened zone
 ' sounds as it falls; and whose limbs are slender and
 ' flexible as the creeping plant. That God, whose
 ' cheeks are beautified by the nectar of his smiles,
 ' whose pipe drops in his extasy, I saw in the grove
 ' encircled by the damsels of *Vraja*, who gazed on him
 ' askance from the corners of their eyes; I saw him in
 ' the grove with happier damsels, yet the sight of him
 ' delighted me. Soft is the gale which breathes over
 ' yon clear pool, and expands the clustering blossoms
 ' of the voluble *Aśoca*; soft, yet grievous to me in the
 ' absence of the foe of MADHU. Delightful are the
 ' flowers of *Amra*-trees on the mountain-top, while
 ' the murmuring bees pursue their voluptuous toil;
 ' delightful, yet afflicting to me, O friend, in the ab-
 ' sence of the youthful CE'SAVA.'

Meantime, the destroyer of CANSA, having brought
 to his remembrance the amiable RĀDHA', forsook
 the beautiful damsels of *Vraja*: he sought her in all
 parts of the forest; his old wound from love's arrow
 bled again; he repented of his levity; and seated in a
 bower near the bank of *Yamunā*, the blue daughter of
 the sun, thus poured forth his lamentation.

' She is departed—she saw me, no doubt, surround-
 ' ed by the wanton shepherdesses; yet, conscious of my
 ' fault, I durst not intercept her flight. ' *Woe is me!*
 ' *She feels a sense of injured honour, and is departed in*
wrath.

' *wrath.* How will she conduct herself? How will
 ' she express her pain in so long a separation? What
 ' is wealth to me? What are numerous attendants?
 ' What are the pleasures of the world? What joy can
 ' I receive from a heavenly abode? I seem to behold
 ' her face with eye-brows contracting themselves
 ' through her just resentment: it resembles a fresh lo-
 ' tos over which two black bees are fluttering: I
 ' seem, so present is she to my imagination, even now
 ' to caress her with eagerness. Why then do I seek
 ' her in this forest? Why do I lament without cause?
 ' O slender damsel, anger, I know, has torn thy soft
 ' bosom; but whither thou art retired, I know not.
 ' How can I invite thee to return? Thou art seen by
 ' me, indeed, in a vision; thou seemest to move be-
 ' fore me. Ah! why dost thou not rush, as before,
 ' to my embrace? Do but forgive me: never again
 ' will I commit a similar offence. Grant me but a
 ' sight of thee, O lovely RA'DHIC'A; for my passion
 ' torments me; I am not the terrible MAHE'SA; a gar-
 ' land of water-lilies with subtil threads decks my
 ' shoulders; not serpents with twisted folds: the blue
 ' petals of the lotos glitter on my neck; not the azure
 ' gleam of poison: powdered sandal-wood is sprin-
 ' kled on my limbs; not pale ashes: O, God of Love,
 ' mistake me not for MAHA'DE'VA. Wound me not
 ' again; approach me not in anger; I love already
 ' but too passionately; yet I have lost my beloved.
 ' Hold not in thy hand that shaft barbed with an *Amra*-
 ' flower! Brace not thy bow, thou conqueror of the
 ' world! Is it valour to slay one who faints? My heart
 ' is already pierced by arrows from RA'DHA's eyes,
 ' black and keen as those of an antelope; yet mine
 ' eyes are not gratified with her presence. Her eyes
 ' are full of shafts: her eye-brows are bows; and the
 ' tips of her ears are filken strings: thus armed by
 ' ANANGA, the God of Desire, she marches, herself a
 ' goddess, to ensure his triumph over the vanquished
 ' universe. I meditate on her delightful embrace, on
 ' the

‘ the ravishing glances darted from her eye, on the
 ‘ fragrant lotos of her mouth, on her nectar-drop-
 ‘ ping speech, on her lips, ruddy as the berries of the
 ‘ *Bimba*; yet even my fixed meditation on such an
 ‘ assemblage of charms encreases, instead of alleviat-
 ‘ ing the misery of separation.’

The damsel, commissioned by RA'DHA', found the disconsolate God under an arbour of spreading *Vâniras* by the side of *Yamunâ*; where presenting herself gracefully before him, she thus described the affliction of his beloved:

‘ She despises essence of sandal-wood, and even by
 ‘ moon-light sits brooding over her gloomy sorrow;
 ‘ she declares the gale of *Malaya* to be venom, and
 ‘ the sandal-trees, through which it has breathed, to
 ‘ have been the haunt of serpents. *Thus, O MA'D-*
 ‘ *HAVA, is she afflicted in thy absence with the pain*
 ‘ *which love's dart has occasioned: her soul is fixed on*
 ‘ *thee.* Fresh arrows of desire are continually assail-
 ‘ ing her; and she forms a net of lotos leaves as armour
 ‘ for her heart, which thou alone shouldst fortify. She
 ‘ makes her own bed of the arrows darted by the
 ‘ flowery-shafted God; but when she hoped for thy
 ‘ embrace, she had formed for thee a couch of soft
 ‘ blossoms. Her face is like a water-lily veiled in
 ‘ the dew of tears, and her eyes appear like moons
 ‘ eclipsed, which let fall their gathered nectar through
 ‘ pain caused by the tooth of the furious dragon.
 ‘ She draws thy image with musk in the character of
 ‘ the Deity with five shafts, having subdued the *Macar*,
 ‘ or horned shark, and holding an arrow tipped with
 ‘ an *Amra*-flower: thus she draws thy picture, and
 ‘ worships it. At the close of every sentence, “ O
 ‘ “ MA'DHAVA, she exclaims, at thy feet am I fallen;
 ‘ “ and in thy absence, even the moon, though it be a
 ‘ “ vase full of nectar, inflames my limbs.” ‘ Then,
 ‘ by the power of imagination, she figures thee stand-
 ‘ ing before her; thee, who art not easily attained:
 ‘ she

‘ she sighs, she smiles, she mourns, she weeps, she
 ‘ moves from side to side, she laments and rejoices by
 ‘ turns. Her abode is a forest; the circle of her fe-
 ‘ male companions is a net; her sighs are flames of
 ‘ fire kindled in a thicket; herself (alas! through thy
 ‘ absence) is become a timid roe; and Love is the
 ‘ tiger who springs on her like YAMA, the Genius of
 ‘ Death. So emaciated is her beautiful body, that
 ‘ even the light garland, which waves over her bosom,
 ‘ she thinks a load. *Such, O bright-haired God, is*
 ‘ *RA'DHA', when thou art absent.* If powder of sandal-
 ‘ wood, finely levigated, be moistened and applied to
 ‘ her breasts, she starts, and mistakes it for poison.
 ‘ Her sighs form a breeze long extended, and burn
 ‘ her like the flame which reduced CANDARPA to
 ‘ ashes. She throws around her eyes, like blue water-
 ‘ lilies with broken stalks, dropping lucid streams.
 ‘ Even her bed of tender leaves appears in her sight
 ‘ like a kindled fire. The palm of her hands supports
 ‘ her aching temple, motionless as the crescent rising
 ‘ at eve. “HERI, HERI,” thus in silence she medi-
 ‘ tates on thy name, as if her wish were gratified, and
 ‘ she were dying through thy absence. She rends her
 ‘ locks; she pants; she laments inarticulately; she
 ‘ trembles; she pines; she muses; she moves from
 ‘ place to place; she closes her eyes; she falls; she
 ‘ rises again; she faints. In such a fever of love, she
 ‘ may live, O celestial physician, if Thou administer
 ‘ the remedy; but, shouldst Thou be unkind, her ma-
 ‘ lady will be desperate. Thus, O divine Healer, by
 ‘ the nectar of thy love must RA'DHA' be restored to
 ‘ health; and if thou refuse it, thy heart must be
 ‘ harder than the thunder-stone. Long has her soul
 ‘ pined, and long has she been heated with sandal-
 ‘ wood, moon-light, and water-lilies, with which others
 ‘ are cooled; yet she patiently and in secret meditates
 ‘ on Thee, who alone canst relieve her. Shouldst
 ‘ thou be inconstant, how can she, wasted as she is to
 ‘ a shadow, support life a single moment? How can
 ‘ she

‘ she, who lately could not endure thy absence even
 ‘ an instant, forbear sighing now, when she looks with
 ‘ half-closed eyes on the *Rosāla* with bloomy branches,
 ‘ which remind her of the vernal season, when she first
 ‘ beheld thee with rapture ?’

‘ Here have I chosen my abode. Go quickly to
 ‘ RA'DHA'; sooth her with my message, and conduct
 ‘ her hither.' So spoke the foe of MADHU to the
 anxious damsel, who hastened back, and thus addressed
 her companion: ‘ Whilst a sweet breeze from the hills
 ‘ of *Malaya* comes wafting on his plumes the young
 ‘ God of Desire; while many a flower points his ex-
 ‘ tended petals to pierce the bosom of separated
 ‘ lovers, *the Deity crowned with silver blossoms, laments,*
 ‘ *O friend, in thy absence.* Even the dewy rays of the
 ‘ moon burn him; and, as the shaft of love is descend-
 ‘ ing, he mourns inarticulately with increasing distrac-
 ‘ tion. When the bees murmur softly, he covers his
 ‘ ears; misery sits fixed in his heart, and every re-
 ‘ turning night adds anguish to anguish. He quits
 ‘ his radiant place for the wild forest, where he sinks
 ‘ on a bed of cold clay, and frequently mutters thy
 ‘ name. In yon bower, to which the pilgrims of love
 ‘ are used to repair, he meditates on thy form, re-
 ‘ peating in silence some enchanting word, which once
 ‘ dropped from thy lips, and thirsting for the nectar
 ‘ which they alone can supply. Delay not, O love-
 ‘ liest of women; follow the lord of thy heart; be-
 ‘ hold, he seeks the appointed shade, bright with the
 ‘ ornaments of love, and confident of the promised
 ‘ bliss. *Having bound his locks with forest flowers, he*
 ‘ *hastens to yon arbour, where a soft gale breathes over*
 ‘ *the banks of Yamunā:* there, again pronouncing thy
 ‘ name, he modulates his divine reed. Oh! with
 ‘ what rapture doth he gaze on the golden dust which
 ‘ the breeze shakes from expanded blossoms; the
 ‘ breeze which has kissed thy cheek! With a mind
 ‘ languid as a dropping wing, feeble as a trembling
 Vol. III. O leaf,

' leaf, he doubtfully expects thy approach, and timid-
 ' ly looks on the path which thou must tread. Leave
 ' behind thee, O friend, the ring which tinkles on thy
 ' delicate ancle, when thou sportest in the dance ;
 ' hastily cast over thee thy azure mantle, and run to
 ' the gloomy bower. The reward of thy speed, O
 ' thou who sparklest like lightning, will be to shine
 ' on the blue bosom of MURÁRI, which resembles a
 ' vernal cloud, decked with a string of pearls, like a
 ' flock of white water birds fluttering in the air.
 ' Disappoint not, O thou lotos-eyed, the vanquisher
 ' of MADHU ; accomplish his desire ; but go quickly ;
 ' it is night, and the night also will quickly depart.
 ' Again and again he sighs ; he looks around ; he re-
 ' enters the arbour ; he can scarce articulate thy sweet
 ' name ; he again smooths his flowry couch ; he looks
 ' wild ; he becomes frantick : thy beloved will perish
 ' through desire. The bright-beamed God sinks in
 ' the west, and thy pain of separation may also be re-
 ' moved : the blackness of the night is increased, and
 ' the passionate imagination of GO'VINDA has acquired
 ' additional gloom. My address to thee has equalled
 ' in length and in sweetness the song of the Cócila : de-
 ' lay will make thee miserable, O my beautiful friend.
 ' Seize the moment of delight in the place of affigna-
 ' tion with the son of DE'VACI', who descended from
 ' heaven to remove the burdens of the universe : he
 ' is a blue gem on the forehead of the three worlds,
 ' and longs to sip honey, like the bee, from the fra-
 ' grant lotos of thy cheek.'

But the solicitous maid, perceiving that RA'DHA
 was unable through debility to move from her arbour
 of flowery creepers, returned to GO'VINDA, who was
 himself disordered with love, and thus described her
 situation.

' She mourns, O sovereign in the world, in her verdant
 ' bower ; she looks eagerly on all sides, in hope of thy
 ' approach ;

' approach; then, gaining strength from the delightful
 ' idea of the proposed meeting, she advances a few
 ' steps, and falls languid on the ground. When she
 ' rises, she weaves bracelets of fresh leaves; she
 ' dresses herself like her beloved, and, looking at her-
 ' self, in sport, exclaims, "Behold the vanquisher of
 " MADHU!" Then she repeats, again and again, the
 ' name of HERI, and, catching at a dark blue cloud,
 ' strives to embrace it, saying, "It is my beloved
 " who approaches." Thus, while thou art dilatory,
 ' she lies expecting thee; she mourns; she weeps;
 ' she puts on her gayest ornaments to receive her
 ' lord: she compresses her deep sighs within her bo-
 ' som; and then, meditating on thee, O cruel, she is
 ' drowned in a sea of rapturous imaginations. If
 ' a leaf but quiver, she supposes thee arrived; she
 ' spreads her couch; she forms in her mind a hun-
 ' dred modes of delight: yet, if thou go not to her
 ' bower, she must die this night through excessive
 ' anguish.'

By this time the moon spread a net of beams over
 the groves of *Vrindāvan*, and looked like a drop of
 liquid sandal on the face of the sky, which smiled like
 a beautiful damsel; while its orb, with many spots,
 betrayed, as it were, a consciousness of guilt, in hav-
 ing often attended amorous maids to the loss of their
 family honour. The moon, with a black fawn couch-
 ed on its disk, advanced in its nightly course; but
 MA'DHAVA had not advanced to the bower of RA'D-
 HA', who thus bewailed his delay with notes of varied
 lamentation.

' The appointed moment is come; but HERI, alas!
 ' comes not to the grove. Must the season of my un-
 ' blemished youth pass thus idly away? *Oh! what re-*
 ' *fuge can I seek, deluded as I am by the guide of my*
 ' *female adviser?* The God with five arrows has
 ' wounded my heart; and I am deserted by Him for

' whose sake I have sought at night the darkest recess
 ' of the forest. Since my best beloved friends have
 ' deceived me, it is my wish to die : since my senses
 ' are disordered, and my bosom is on fire, why stay I
 ' longer in this world ? The coolness of this vernal
 ' night gives me pain, instead of refreshment : some
 ' happier damsel enjoys my beloved ; whilst I, alas !
 ' am looking at the gems in my bracelets, which are
 ' blackened by the flames of my passion. My neck,
 ' more delicate than the tenderest blossom, is hurt by
 ' the garland that encircles it : flowers are, indeed, the
 ' arrows of Love, and he plays with them cruelly. I
 ' make this wood my dwelling : I regard not the
 ' roughness of the *Vetas*-trees ; but the destroyer of
 ' MADHU holds me not in his remembrance ! Why
 ' comes he not to the bower of bloomy *Vanjulas*, af-
 ' signed for our meeting ? Some ardent rival, no
 ' doubt, keeps him locked in her embrace : or have
 ' his companions detained him with mirthful recrea-
 ' tions ? Else why roams he not through the cool
 ' shades ? Perhaps, the heart-sick lover is unable
 ' through weakness to advance even a step !'—So say-
 ' ing, she raised her eyes ; and, seeing her damsel re-
 ' turn silent and mournful, unaccompanied by MA'D-
 ' HAVA, she was alarmed even to phrensy ; and, as if
 ' she actually beheld him in the arms of a rival, she thus
 ' described the vision which overpowered her intellect.

' Yes ; in habiliments becoming the war of love,
 ' and with tresses waving like flowery banners, a *dam-*
 ' *sel more alluring than RA'DHA'*, enjoys the conqueror
 ' of MADHU. Her form is transfigured by the touch of
 ' her divine lover ; her garland quivers over her swell-
 ' ing bosom ; her face, like the moon, is graced with
 ' clouds of dark hair, and trembles, while she quaffs
 ' the nectareous dew of his lip ; her bright ear-rings
 ' dance over her cheeks, which they irradiate ; and
 ' the small bells on her girdle tinkle as she moves.
 ' Bashful at first, she smiles at length on her embracer,
 ' and

and expresses her joy with inarticulate murmurs;
 while she floats on the waves of desire, and closes
 her eyes, dazzled with the blaze of approaching CA-
 MA: and now this heroine in love's warfare falls ex-
 hausted and vanquished by the resistless MURA'RI:
 but, alas! in my bosom prevails the flame of jea-
 lousy; and yon moon, which dispels the sorrow of
 others, increases mine. See again, whence the *foe*
 of MURA sports in yon grove on the bank of the Ya-
 munà! See how he kisses the lip of my rival, and im-
 prints on her forehead an ornament of pure musk,
 black as the young antelope on the lunar orb! Now,
 like the husband of RETI, he fixes white blossoms on
 her dark locks, where they gleam like flashes of
 lightning among the curled clouds. On her breasts,
 like two firmaments, he places a string of gems, like
 a radiant constellation: he binds on her arms, grace-
 ful as the stalks of the water-lily, and adorned with
 hands glowing like the petals of its flower, a bracelet
 of sapphires, which resemble a cluster of bees. Ah!
 see how he ties round her waist, a rich girdle illu-
 mined with gold bells, which seem to laugh, as
 they tinkle, at the inferior brightness of the leafy
 garlands, which lovers hang on their bowers to pro-
 pitiate the God of Desire. He places her soft foot,
 as he reclines by her side, on his ardent bosom, and
 stains it with the ruddy hue of Yávaca. Say, my
 friend, why pass I my nights in this tangled forest,
 without joy and without hope, while the faithless
 brother of HALADHERA clasps my rival in his arms?
 Yet why, my companion, shouldst thou mourn,
 though my perfidious youth has disappointed me?
 What offence is it of thine, if he sports with a crowd
 of damsels happier than I? Mark how my soul, at-
 tracted by his irresistible charms, bursts from its
 mortal frame, and rushes to mix with its beloved.
She whom the God enjoys, crowned with sylvan flowers,
 sits carelessly on a bed of leaves with Him, whose
 wanton eyes resemble blue water-lilies agitated by the
 breeze.

' breeze. She feels no flame from the gales of *Malaya*
 ' with Him, whose words are sweeter than the water
 ' of life. She derides the shafts of soul-born CA'MA
 ' with Him, whose lips are like a red lotos in full
 ' bloom. She is cooled by the moon's dewy beams,
 ' while she reclines with Him, whose hands and feet
 ' glow like vernal flowers. No female companion
 ' deludes her, while she sports with Him, whose vesture
 ' blazes like tried gold. She faints not through ex-
 ' cess of passion, while she caresses that youth, who
 ' surpasses in beauty the inhabitants of all worlds. O
 ' gale, scented with sandal, who breathest love from
 ' the regions of the south, be propitious but for a mo-
 ' ment: when thou hast brought my beloved before
 ' my eyes, thou mayest freely waft away my soul.
 ' Love, with eyes like blue water-lilies, again assails
 ' me, and triumphs; and while the perfidy of my be-
 ' loved rends my heart, my female friend is my foe,
 ' the cool breeze scorches me like a flame, and the
 ' nectar-dropping moon is my poison. Bring disease
 ' and death, O gale of *Malaya*! Seize my spirit, O
 ' God with five arrows! I ask not mercy from thee:
 ' no more will I dwell in the cottage of my father.
 ' Receive me in thy azure waves, O sister of YAMA;
 ' that the ardour of my heart may be allayed!

Pierced by the arrows of love, she passed the night
 in the agonies of despair, and at early dawn thus re-
 buked her lover, whom she saw lying prostrate before
 her, and imploring her forgiveness.

' *Alas! alas! Go, MA'DHAVA; depart, O CE'SAVI;*
 ' *speaking not the language of guile; follow her, O lotos-*
 ' *eyed God, follow her who dispels thy care. Look at*
 ' his eye half-opened, red with continued waking
 ' through the pleasurable night, yet smiling still with
 ' affection for my rival! Thy teeth, O cerulean youth,
 ' are azure as thy complexion from the kisses which
 ' thou hast imprinted on the beautiful eyes of thy
 ' darling,

' darling graced with dark blue powder; and thy limbs;
 ' marked with punctures in love's warfare, exhibit a
 ' letter of conquest written on polished sapphire with
 ' liquid gold. That broad bosom, flamed by the
 ' bright lotos of her foot, displays a vesture of ruddy
 ' leaves over the tree of thy heart, which trembles
 ' within it. The pressure of her lip on thine wounds
 ' me to the soul. Ah! how canst thou assert, that we
 ' are one, since our sensations differ thus widely? Thy
 ' soul, O dark-limbed God, shows its blackness exter-
 ' nally. How couldst thou deceive a girl who relied
 ' on thee; a girl who burned in the fever of love?
 ' Thou rovest in woods, and females are thy prey: what
 ' wonder? Even thy childish heart was malignant;
 ' and thou gavest death to the nurse who would have
 ' given thee milk. Since thy tenderness for me, of
 ' which these forests used to talk, has now vanished,
 ' and since thy breast, reddened by the feet of my
 ' rival, glows as if thy ardent passion for her were
 ' bursting from it, the sight of thee, O deceiver,
 ' makes me (ah! must I say it?) blush at my own
 ' affection.'

Having thus inveighed against her beloved, she sat
 overwhelmed in grief, and silently meditated on his
 charms; when her damsel softly addressed her.

' He is gone: the light air has wafted him away.
 ' What pleasure now, my beloved, remains in thy
 ' mansion? *Continue not, resentful woman, thy indigna-*
 ' *tion against the beautiful MA'DHAVA.* Why shouldst
 ' thou render vain those round smooth vases, ample
 ' and ripe as the sweet fruit of yon *Tála*-tree? How
 ' often and how recently have I said, "for sake not
 ' the blooming *HERI*?" ' Why fittest thou so mourn-
 ' ful? Why weepest thou with distraction, when the
 ' damsels are laughing around thee? Thou hast
 ' formed a couch of soft lotos-leaves: let thy darling

3

charm

' charm thy sight, while he reposes on it. Afflict not
 ' thy soul with extreme anguish ; but attend to my
 ' words, which conceal no guile. Suffer CE'SAVA
 ' to approach : let him speak with exquisite sweetness,
 ' and dissipate all thy sorrows. If thou art harsh
 ' to him, who is amiable ; if thou art proudly silent,
 ' when he deprecates thy wrath with lowly prostra-
 ' tions ; if thou shonest aversion to him, who loves
 ' thee passionately ; if, when he bends before thee, thy
 ' face be turned contemptuously away ; by the same
 ' rule of contrariety, the dust of sandal-wood, which
 ' thou hast sprinkled, may become poison ; the moon,
 ' with cool beams, a scorching sun ; the fresh dew, a
 ' consuming flame ; and the sports of love be changed
 ' into agony.'

MA'DHAVA was not absent long : he returned to
 his beloved, whose cheeks were heated by the sultry
 gale of her sighs. Her anger was diminished, not
 wholly abated ; but she secretly rejoiced at his re-
 turn, while the shades of night also were approach-
 ing. She looked abashed at her damsel, while He,
 with faltering accents, implored her forgiveness.

' Speak but one mild word, and the rays of thy
 ' sparkling teeth will dispel the gloom of my fears.
 ' My trembling lips, like thirsty *Chacóras*, long to
 ' drink the moon-beams of thy cheek. *O my darling,*
 ' *who art naturally so tender-hearted, abandon thy cause-*
 ' *less indignation. At this moment the flame of desire*
 ' *consumes my heart : Oh ! grant me a draught of honey*
 ' *from the lotos of thy mouth.* Or, if thou beest in-
 ' exorable, grant me death from the arrows of thy
 ' keen eyes ; make thy arms my chains ; and punish
 ' me according to thy pleasure. Thou art my life ;
 ' thou art my ornament ; thou art a pearl in the
 ' ocean of my mortal birth ; oh ! be favourable now,
 ' and my heart shall eternally be grateful. Thine
 ' eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are
 ' become,

' become, through thy resentment, like petals of the
 ' crimson lotos: oh! tinge with their effulgence these
 ' my dark limbs, that they may glow like the shafts of
 ' Love tipped with flowers. Place on my head that
 ' foot like a fresh leaf, and shade me from the sun
 ' of my passion, whose beams I am unable to bear.
 ' Spread a string of gems on those two soft globes;
 ' let the golden bells of thy zone tinkle, and proclaim
 ' the mild edict of love. Say, O damsel, with delicate
 ' speech, shall I dye red, with the juice of *alaṭaca*,
 ' those beautiful feet, which will make the full-blown
 ' land-lotos blush with shame? Abandon thy doubts
 ' of my heart; now, indeed, fluttering through fear of
 ' thy displeasure, but hereafter to be fixed wholly on
 ' thee; a heart which has no room in it for another:
 ' none else can enter it, but Love, the bodiless God.
 ' Let him wing his arrows; let him wound me mor-
 ' tally; decline not, O cruel, the pleasure of seeing
 ' me expire. Thy face is bright as the moon, though
 ' its beams drop the venom of maddening desire: let
 ' thy nectareous lip be the charmer, who alone has
 ' power to lull the serpent, or supply an antidote for
 ' his poison. Thy silence afflicts me: oh! speak with
 ' the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay
 ' my ardour. Abandon thy wrath, but abandon not
 ' a lover who surpasses in beauty the sons of men,
 ' and who kneels before thee, O thou most beautiful
 ' among women. Thy lips are a *Bandhujiva*-flower;
 ' the lustre of the *Madhuca* beams on thy cheek; thine
 ' eye outshines the blue-lotos; thy nose is a bud of
 ' the *Tila*; the *Cunda*-blossom yields to thy teeth:
 ' thus the flowry-shafted God borrows from thee the
 ' points of his darts, and subdues the universe. Surely,
 ' thou descendest from heaven, O slender damsel, at-
 ' tended by a company of youthful goddesses; and all
 ' their beauties are collected in thee.'

He spake; and seeing her appeased by his homage,
 flew to his bower, clad in a gay mantle. The night
 now

now veiled all visible objects; and the damsel thus exhorted RA'DHA', while she decked her with beaming ornaments.

‘ Follow, gentle RA'DHICA', follow the foe of MAD-
 ‘ HU : his discourse was elegantly composed of sweet
 ‘ phrases ; he prostrated himself at thy feet ; and he
 ‘ now hastens to his delightful couch by yon grove of
 ‘ branching *Vanjulas*. Bind round thy ankle, rings
 ‘ beaming with gems ; and advance with mincing steps,
 ‘ like the pearl-fed *Marála*. Drink with ravished ears
 ‘ the soft accents of HĒRI ; and feast on love, while
 ‘ the warbling *Cócilas* obey the mild ordinance of the
 ‘ flower-darting God. Abandon delay : see the whole
 ‘ assembly of slender plants, pointing to the bower with
 ‘ fingers of young leaves agitated by the gale, make sig-
 ‘ nals for thy departure. Ask those two round hillocks,
 ‘ which receive pure dew-drops from the garland play-
 ‘ ing on thy neck, and the buds on whose top start
 ‘ aloft with the thought of thy darling ; ask, and they
 ‘ will tell, that thy soul is intent on the warfare of
 ‘ love : advance, fervid warrior, advance with ala-
 ‘ crity, while the sound of thy tinkling waist-bells shall
 ‘ represent martial music. Lead with thee some fa-
 ‘ voured maid ; grasp her hand with thine, whose fin-
 ‘ gers are long and smooth as love’s arrows : march ;
 ‘ and, with the noise of thy bracelets, proclaim thy
 ‘ approach to the youth who will own himself thy
 ‘ slave. “ She will come ; she will exult on beholding
 ‘ me ; she will pour accents of delight ; she will enfold
 ‘ me with eager arms ; she will melt with affection : ”
 ‘ Such are his thoughts at this moment ; and thus
 ‘ thinking, he looks through the long avenue : he
 ‘ trembles ; he rejoices ; he burns ; he moves from
 ‘ place to place ; he faints, when he sees thee not
 ‘ coming, and falls in his gloomy bower. The night
 ‘ now dresses, in habiliments fit for secrecy, the ma-
 ‘ ny damsels who hasten to their places of assignation :
 ‘ the

' she sets off with blackness their beautiful eyes; fixes
 ' dark *Tamála*-leaves behind their ears; decks their
 ' locks with the deep azure of water-lilies, and sprin-
 ' kles musk on their panting bosoms. The nocturnal
 ' sky, black as the touchstone, tries now the gold of
 ' their affection, and is marked with rich lines from the
 ' flashes of their beauty, in which they surpass the
 ' brightest *Cashmirians*.

RA'DHA', thus incited, tripped through the forest;
 but shame overpowered her, when, by the light of in-
 numerable gems, on the arms, the feet, and the neck
 of her beloved, she saw him at the door of his flowery
 mansion: then her damsel again addressed her with ar-
 dent exultation.

' Enter, sweet RA'DHA', the bower of HERI: seek
 ' delight, O thou, whose bosom laughs with the fore-
 ' taste of happiness. Enter, sweet RA'DHA', the bow-
 ' er graced with a bed of *Aśoca*-leaves: seek delight,
 ' O thou, whose garland leaps with joy on thy breast.
 ' Enter, sweet RA'DHA', the bower illumined with gay
 ' blossoms; seek delight, O thou, whose limbs far ex-
 ' cel them in softness. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower
 ' made cool and fragrant by gales from the woods of
 ' *Malaya*: seek delight, O thou, whose amorous lays
 ' are softer than breezes. Enter, O RA'DHA', the
 ' bower spread with leaves of twining creepers: seek
 ' delight, O thou, whose arms have been long inflexi-
 ' ble. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower which resounds
 ' with the murmurs of honey-making bees: seek de-
 ' light, O thou, whose embrace yields more exquisite
 ' sweetness. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower attuned
 ' by the melodious band of *Cócilas*: seek delight, O
 ' thou, whose lips, which outshine the grains of the
 ' pomegranate, are embellished, when thou speakest,
 ' by the brightness of thy teeth. Long has he borne
 ' thee in his mind; and now, in an agony of desire, he
 ' pants

' pants to taste nectar from thy lip. Deign to restore
 ' thy slave, who will bend before the lotos of thy
 ' foot, and press it to his irradiated bosom; a slave,
 ' who acknowledges himself bought by thee for a sin-
 ' gle glance from thy eye, and a toss of thy disdainful
 ' eye-brow.'

She ended ; and RA'DHA', with timid joy, darting
 her eyes on GÓVINDA, while she musically sounded
 the rings of her ankles, and the bells of her zone, en-
 tered the mystick bower of her only beloved. There
she beheld her MA'DHAVA, who delighted in her alone ;
who so long had sighed for her embrace ; and whose coun-
tenance then gleamed with excessive rapture : his heart
 was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are
 affected by the lunar orb. His azure breast glittered
 with pearls of unblemished lustre, like the full bed of
 the cerulean *Yamunà*, interspersed with curls of white
 foam. From his graceful waist flowed a pale yellow
 robe, which resembled the golden dust of the water-
 lily scattered over its blue petals. His passion was in-
 flamed by the glances of her eyes, which played like a
 pair of water-birds with azure plumage, that sport near
 a full-blown lotos on a pool in the season of dew.
 Bright ear-rings, like two suns, displayed in full ex-
 pansion the flowers of his cheeks and lips, which glisten-
 ed with the liquid radiance of smiles. His locks, in-
 terwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated
 with moon-beams ; and on his forehead shone a cir-
 cle of odorous oil, extracted from the sandal of *Ma-*
laya, like the moon just appearing on the dusky hori-
 zon ; while his whole body seemed in a flame, from the
 blaze of unnumbered gems. Tears of transport gushed
 in a stream from the full eyes of RA'DHA', and their
 watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even
 shame, which before had taken its abode in their dark
 pupils, was itself ashamed, and departed, when the fawn-
 eyed RA'DHA' gazed on the brightened face of CRISH-
 NA,

NA, while she passed by the soft edge of his couch ; and the bevy of his attendant nymphs, pretending to strike the gnats from their cheeks, in order to conceal their smiles, warily retired from his bower.

GÓVINDA, seeing his beloved cheerful and serene, her lips sparkling with smiles, and her eye speaking desire, thus eagerly addressed her ; while she carelessly reclined on the leafy bed strewn with soft blossoms.

‘ Set the lotos of thy foot on this azure bosom ; and
 ‘ let this couch be victorious over all who rebel
 ‘ against love. Give short rapture, sweet RA'DHA', to
 ‘ NA'RA'YA'N, thy adorer. I do thee homage ; I press
 ‘ with my blooming palms thy feet, weary with so long
 ‘ a walk. O that I were the golden ring that plays
 ‘ round thy ankle ! Speak but one gentle word ; bid
 ‘ nectar drop from the bright moon of thy mouth.
 ‘ Since the pain of absence is removed, let me thus
 ‘ remove the thin vest that enviously hides thy charms.
 ‘ Blest should I be, if those raised globes were fixed on
 ‘ my bosom, and the ardour of my passion allayed.
 ‘ O ! suffer me to quaff the liquid bliss of those lips ;
 ‘ restore with their water of life, thy slave, who has long
 ‘ been lifeless, whom the fire of separation has con-
 ‘ sumed. Long have these ears been afflicted in thy
 ‘ absence by the notes of the *Cócila* : relieve them with
 ‘ the sound of thy tinkling waist-bells, which yield mu-
 ‘ sical almost equal to the melody of thy voice. Why
 ‘ are those eyes half closed ? Are they ashamed of see-
 ‘ ing a youth to whom thy causeless resentment gave
 ‘ anguish ? Oh ! let affliction cease : and let extasy
 ‘ drown the remembrance of past sorrow.’

In the morning she rose disarrayed, and her eyes be-
 trayed a night without slumber ; when the yellow-robed
 God, who gazed on her with transport, thus meditated
 on her charms in his heavenly mind : ‘ Though her
 ‘ locks be diffused at random, though the lustre of
 ‘ her

' her lips be faded, though her garland and zone be
 ' fallen from their enchanting stations, and though she
 ' hide their places with her hands, looking toward me
 ' with bashful silence, yet, even thus disarranged, she
 ' fills me with extatick delight.' But RA'DHA', pre-
 ' paring to array herself, before the company of nymphs
 could see her confusion, spake thus with exultation to
 her obsequious lover.

' Place, O son of YADU ! with fingers cooler than
 ' sandal-wood, place a circlet of musick on this breast,
 ' which resembles a vase of consecrated water, crowned
 ' with fresh leaves, and fixed near a vernal bower to
 ' propitiate the God of Love. Place, my darling, the
 ' glossy powder, which would make the blackest bee
 ' envious, on this eye, whose glances are keener than
 ' arrows darted by the husband of RETI. Fix, O ac-
 ' complished youth, the two gems, which form part
 ' of love's chain, in these ears, whence the antelopes
 ' of thine eyes may run downwards, and sport at plea-
 ' sure. Place now a fresh circle of musk, black as the
 ' lunar spots, on the moon of my forehead; and mix
 ' gay flowers on my tresses with a peacock's feathers,
 ' in graceful order, that they may wave like the banners
 ' of CA'MA. Now replace, O tender-hearted, the loose
 ' ornaments of my vesture: and refix the golden bells
 ' of my girdle on their destined station, which resembles
 ' those hills, where the God with five shafts, who de-
 ' stroyed SAMBAR, keeps his elephant ready for bat-
 ' tle.' While she spake, the heart of YADAVA triumph-
 ed; and, obeying her sportful behests, he placed
 musky spots on her bosom and forehead, dyed her
 temples with radiant hues, embellished her eyes with
 additional blackness, decked her braided hair and her
 neck with fresh garlands, and tied on her wrists the
 loosened bracelets, on her ankles the beamy rings, and
 round her waist the zone of bells, that sounded with
 ravishing melody.

Whatever

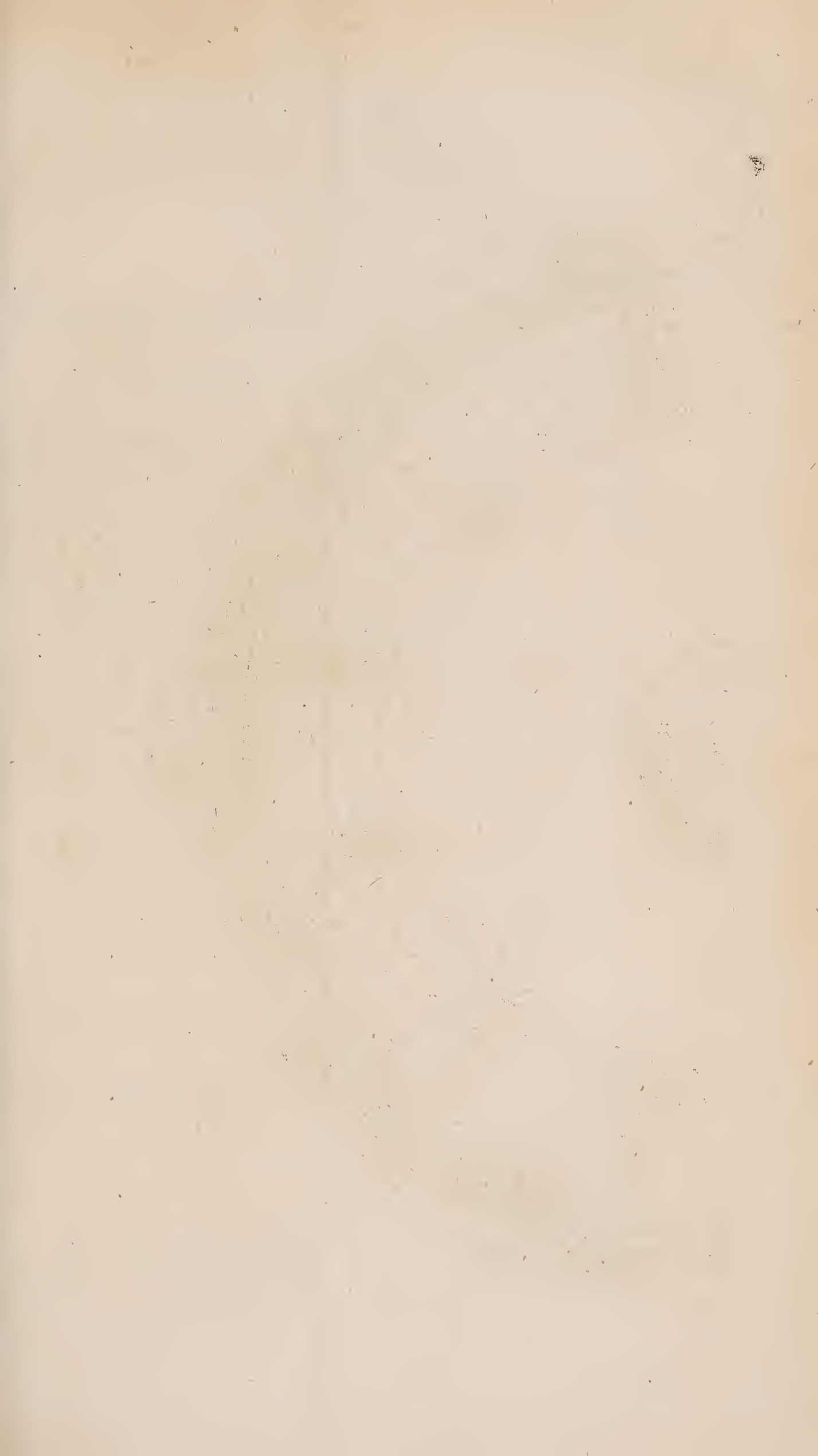
Whatever is delightful in the modes of musick, whatever is divine in meditations on VISHNU, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, all that let the happy and wise learn from the songs of JAYADEVA, whose soul is united with the foot of NARAYANA. May that HERI be your support, who expanded himself into an infinity of bright forms, when, eager to gaze with myriads of eyes on the daughter of the ocean, he displayed his great character of the all-pervading deity, by the multiplied reflections of his divine person in the numberless gems on the many heads of the king of serpents, whom he chose for his couch; that HERI, who, removing the lucid veil from the bosom of PEDMA', and fixing his eyes on the delicious buds that grew on it, diverted her attention, by declaring that, when she had chosen him as her bridegroom, near the sea of milk, the disappointed husband of PERVATI drank in despair the venom which dyed his neck azure!

THE END

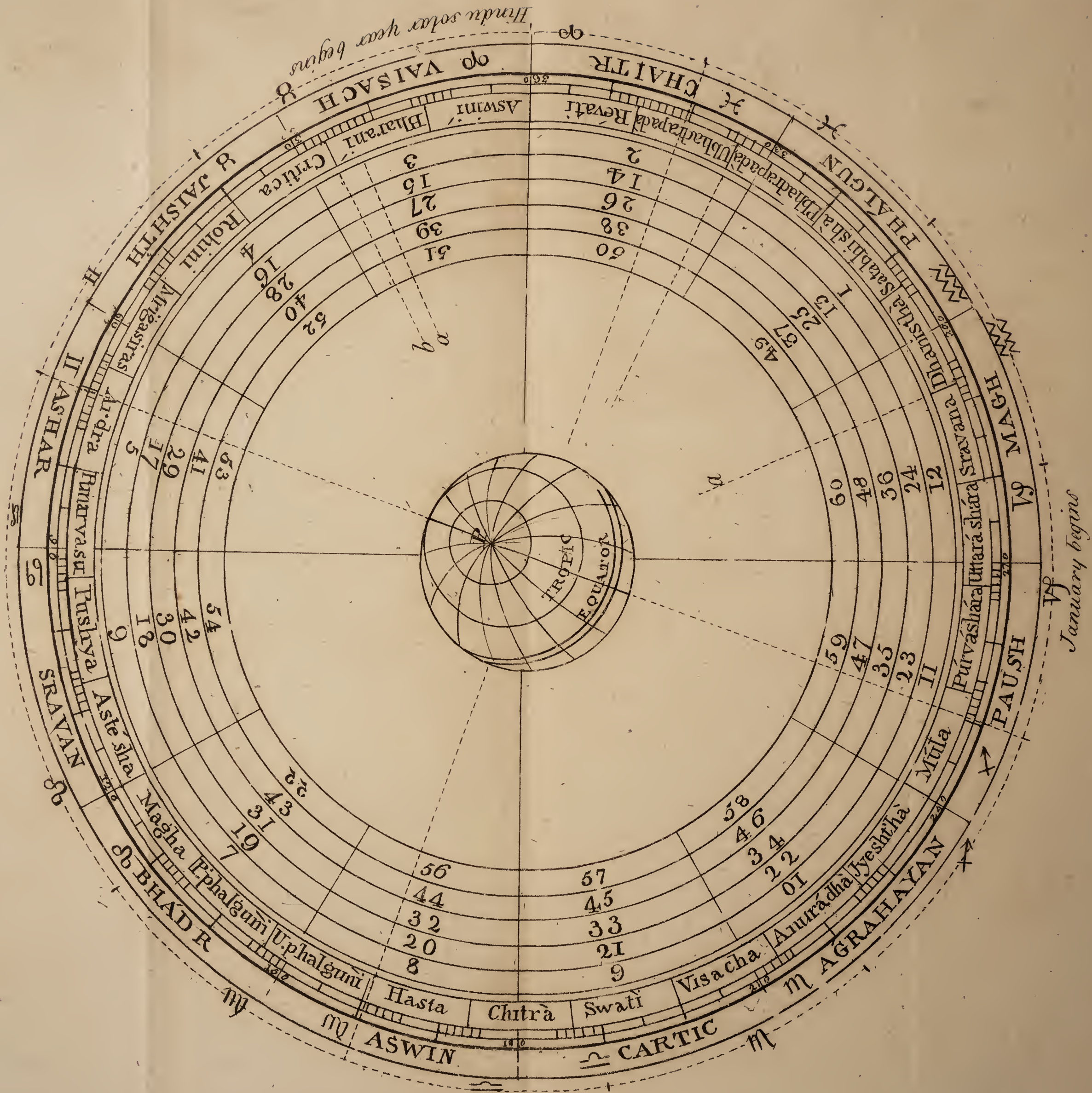
NOTE on Vol. II. page 391.

By the PRESIDENT.

A desire of translating the couplets of VARA'HAMI-HIRA with minute exactness, and of avoiding the *San scrit* word *ayana* in an *English* phrase, has occasioned a little inaccuracy, or at least ambiguity, in the version of two very important lines, which may easily be corrected by twice reading *ádayàt* in the fifth case for *ádyam* in the first : so that they may thus be translated word for word : “ Certainly the southern road of the sun was, “ or began, once from the middle of *Aśléshà* ; the north- “ ern, from the first of *Dhanisht'hà*. At present the “ southern road of the sun begins from the first of *Car- “ cata* ; and the other from the first of *Mriga*, or Ma- “ car.”



THE HINDU ECLIPTIC.



IX.

ON THE

INDIAN CYCLE OF SIXTY YEARS.

By SAMUEL DAVIS, Esq.

IN the Philosophical Transactions published for 1790, there is an account given of the *Hindu* cycle of sixty*, which being in many particulars deficient, and in some erroneous, I shall endeavour to show the true nature and computation of that cycle, from the explanation which is given of it by the *Hindus* themselves.

The following two *ślokas*, extracted from the last section of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, enumerate the several distinctions of time in astronomical use among the *Hindus* :

ব্রাহ্ম°দৈব°তথা°পিতা° প্রাজাপত্য°গুরুস্তথা ।

সৌৰ°চন্দ্র°চান্দ্র°মার্ক°মানানি°বৈনব্যা ।

চতুৰ্ভি°ব্যবহা°ৰাত্ৰ সৌৰ°চান্দ্র°মার্ক°মাননৈঃ ।

বাহ্মণ°ভূতনষট্°দ্বয়°নান্যৈশ্চ°নিত্যশঃ ॥

Bráhmañ

* “ In their current transactions, the inhabitants of the peninsula employ a mode of computation, which, though not unknown in other parts of the world, is confined to these [the southern] people
VOL. III. P “ amongst

Bráhmañ daivañ tat'hà pitryañ prájápatyañ gu-
 róstat'hà,
 Saurañ che sávanañ chándram árchañ mánáni
 vai nava :
 Chaturbhir vyavaháró'tra saurachándrárcsha fá-
 vanaih,
 Várhaspatyéna shash'tyabdan jñeyañ nányaistu
 nityasah :

and the translation of them is as follows: The *Bráh-*
 “*ma*, the *Daiva*, the *Pitrya*, the *Prájapatya*, that of
 “*Guru*, the *Saura*, the *Sávana*, the *Chándra*, the
 “*Nácshatra*, are the nine distinctions of time. Four
 “of these distinctions are of practical use to mortals;
 “namely, the *Saura*, the *Chándra*, the *Nácshatra*, the
 “*Sávana*. That of *Vrihaspati* (*Guru*) is formed into
 “sixty years. The other distinctions occur but sel-
 “dom in astronomical practice.”

Brahma's year is that whereof the *Calpa* is one day.
 The *Daiva* year consists of 360 revolutions of the sun
 through the ecliptick. The *Pitrya* day is from lunation
 to lunation. The *Prajápati-mána* is the *manwantara*.
 The cycle of *Guru*, or *Vrihaspati*, which is the subject
 of this paper, will be explained further on. The
Chándra is lunar, and the *Nácshatra* sidereal time.
 The *Saura* and *Sávan*, are the same solar-sidereal year
 differently divided; the sun's passage through each de-
 gree of the ecliptick being accounted as a day of the
 first, and the time contained between sun-rise and sun-
 rise, as a day of the last; consequently, there are 360
 days, or divisions, in the former year; whereas, the

“amongst the *Hindoos*. This is a cycle or revolving period of sixty
 “*solar years*, which has no further correspondence with the æras above
 “mentioned [of *Bikramajit* and *Salahan*] than that of their years re-
 “spectively on the same day, &c.”

PHIL. TRANS. VOL. LXXX. Part ii.

latter

latter year is determined, according to the astronomical rules of the best authority, as containing
 $\overset{D}{365} \overset{D}{15} \overset{P}{31} \overset{V.P}{31} \overset{A.P}{24}$ of *Hindu*, or $\overset{D}{365} \overset{H}{6} \overset{M}{12} 36'' 33''' 36''''$
 of our time.

The *Sávan* year may, as the *Hindus* observe, be measured by the following method, which is little more than a translation from the *Sanścrit*.

Upon a large horizontal circle, note the point whereon the sun rises, at any time near the equinox, or when his motion in declination is the most perceptible; and count the number of *Sávan* days, or of his successive risings, from that time, until having visited the two solstices, he shall be returned near to the original mark; then repeat the operation, until he rises next after passing over that original or first-made mark, and compute the proportion which the space, whereby he shall have fallen short of it, in the last observation but one, bears to the whole space contained between the marks made of his two last risings, accounting that space to contain 60 *Dandas*, or one *Sávan* day: the result will be the fraction (allowing for precession) of a day, and it will be the excess of the year over 355 days, or number of times that the sun will have been found to rise above the horizon during such an observation of his progress through the ecliptick. This fraction the *Súrya Siddhānta* states as $\overset{D}{0} \overset{D}{15} \overset{P}{31} \overset{V.P}{31} \overset{A.P}{24}$, and the *Siddhānti Sirómanī* as $\overset{D}{0} \overset{D}{15} \overset{P}{30} \overset{V.P}{22} \overset{A.P}{30}$; but it is not probable, that either quantity was determined by so simple and mechanical a method alone, or without recourse to a series of observations made at distant periods.

The *Vrihaspati māna*, of which the cycle of sixty years is composed, is thus described in the comment on the foregoing *ślócas*:

बृहस्पतेर्यानं मध्यमराशिभोगेनोक्तं ॥

Vrihaspetérmánañ madhyamarásibhógénóctan.

“ It is his (*Vrihaspati's*) mean motion (*madhyama*)
“ through one sign.*”

To explain what is meant by the *madhyama*, in contradistinction to the *fighra*, motion of *Jupiter*, and the other planets, and to show that, by compounding them in eccentric circles and epicycles, the *Hindus* compute the apparent places of the planets on the principles of the *Ptolemaick* astronomy, is not the object of this paper: I shall, therefore, only desire it may be understood, that the *madhyama* of *Jupiter* answers to his mean motion in his orbit, and the amount of it computed for any particular interval, to his mean heliocentrick longitude in the *Hindu* ecliptick. The rule then for computing his *mána*, or year, of which the cycle of sixty years is formed, is evident; and it is thus given in the 55th *śloca* of the first section of the *Súrya Siddhánta*.

द्वादशगुरुबो याता भगाना वृत्तमा नोक्तः १

राशिभिः सहिताः शुद्धाः षष्ट्या स्यार्विजयादयः ॥

Dwádaśághná guró yáta bhagáná vertamánacaih
Rásibhih sahitáh súddáh śhaṣṭhyá syurvijáyádayah

“ Multiply by 12 *Jupiter's* expired *bhaganas*, (revo-
“ lutions,) and (to the product) add the sign he is in;
“ divide (the sum) by 60; the remainder, or fraction,
“ shows

* Correct an error in Vol. II. p. 233, in the note on the *Hindu* cycle of sixty: for *degree* read *sign*.

“ shows his current year, counting from *Vijaya* as the
“ first of the series.”

To apply this rule in finding the *Vrihaspati* year, for a given time, as for the commencement of the current year of the *cali yug*, or when 4892 years of that era were expired, correspondent with the 10th of last *April*, we have the following data.* The revolutions, or mean motion of *Jupiter*, 364220 in 4320000 solar years; and the term expired of the *cali yug* 4892 years, which, for the reason given in Vol. II. page 244, may in this case be used to save trouble, instead of the period expired of the *Calpa*: then, as 4320000 to 364220, so 4892 to $412^{\circ} 5' 10'' 21' 12''$ which shows *Jupiter's* *madhyama*, or mean heliocentrick longitude, to be $5^{\circ} 10' 21' 12''$ after 412 complete revolutions through his orbit. But, as in the instance of the moon's node, (Vol. II. page 275) a correction of *bija* is here to be applied to *Jupiter's* mean place at the rate of 8 revolutions in the *máha yug* subtractive. But 8 revolutions in 4320000 years are as 1° to 1500 years; therefore, by a shorter process, the term expired of the *cali yug*, divided by 1500, quotes the *bija* in degrees; and $\frac{4892}{1500} = 3^{\circ} 15' 41'' 48'''$ is the correction subtractive, which reduces *Jupiter's* mean place to $(412)^{\circ} 5' 7'' 5' 30''$: then $412 \times 12 = 4944$, to which add 6, *Jupiter* being in the sixth sign; the sum 4950 is the number of the *Vrihaspati* years elapsed since the beginning of the *cali yug*; which, divided by 60 for cycles, quotes 82 cycles expired, leaving a fraction of $\frac{30}{60}$ to find his current year, which counted as the rule directs from *Vijaya* as the first, falls on *Dundubhi*, which is the 56th of the cycle; and, of this year, the fraction $7^{\circ} 5' 30''$ reduced at the rate of $2^{\circ} 30'$ to a month, shows $2^{\text{M}} 25^{\text{D}} 6^{\text{D}} 12^{\text{P}}$ to have been expired on the 1st of *Vaisách*, or 10th of

* From Vol. II. page 232.

of *April*, for which time the computation is made; and likewise, that the next year *Rudhiródgári* will commence in the ensuing solar month of *Mágha*.

A *Nádiya* almanack for the present year states, that on the 1st of last *Vaisách*, there were expired of the *Vrihaspati* cycle 55 years, 2 months, 23 days, and 10 *dandas*; and that the current year *Dundubhi* will continue until the 7th day of the solar month of *Mágh*: the difference of one day and 56 *dandas*, between this and the foregoing result, is too great to be accounted for by the difference of longitude between *Nádiya* and *Ujjein*, for the meridian of which latter place computations by the *Sùrya Siddhánta* are made; but it is of no consequence to the intended purpose of this paper.

There is another rule for computing the *Vrihaspati* year given in an astrological book named *Jyautistatva*.
 “ The *śāca* years note down in two places. Multiply
 “ (one of the numbers) by 22. Add (to the product)
 “ 4291. Divide (the sum) by 1875. The quotient
 “ add to the second number noted down, and divide
 “ (the sum) by 60. The remainder or fraction will
 “ show the year last expired, counting from *Prabhava*
 “ as the first of the cycle. The fraction, if any, left
 “ by the divisor 1875 may be reduced to months,
 “ days, &c. expired of the current year.”

The *śāca* years expired on the 1st of last *Vaisách*, corresponding with the expired years 4892 of the *cali* *yug*, were 1713; then, by the rule,

$$\frac{1713 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 22 \frac{727}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{1713 + 22}{60} = 28 \frac{55}{60}$$

which shows the last expired year of *Vrihaspati* to have been the 55th year of the cycle, named *Durmati*; and the fraction $\frac{727}{1875}$, when reduced, that 4 months, 19 days, and 35 *dandas* were expired of the current year *Dundubhi* when last *Vaisácha* began.

The numbers 22 and 1875 used in this computation, are evidently derived from the planetary periods, as given by A'RYABHATTA; which, according to VARA'HAMIHIRA, are, of *Jupiter*, 364224 mean revolutions in 4320000 solar years; but 364224 revolutions of *Jupiter* contain 4370688 of his years, which exceed the correspondent solar years 4320000 by 50688; and those two numbers reduced to their lowest terms are 1875 and 22; or, in 1875 solar years, there is an excess of 22 *Vrihaspati* years; and hence the use of those numbers is obvious. The additive number 4892, by the *Hindu* astronomers termed *cshépa*, adjusts the computation to the commencement of the era *fáca*, which began when the 3179th year expired of the *cali yug*; and it shows that 2 years, 3 months, and 13 days were then expired of the current cycle of *Jupiter*, or 3 months and 13 days of the year *Sucla*, which is the third of that cycle. A computation by the *Súrya Siddhánta* for the same period, with a correction of *bija*, as in the foregoing example, makes 2 months, 9 days, 56 *dandas*, and 12 *palas*, to have been elapsed of that year, and that consequently there were 57 years, 9 months, 20 days, 3 *dandas*, and 12 *palas*, then wanting to complete the cycle, instead of 49 years, as it is stated in the Philosophical Transactions; and, by the same rule, the year of CHRIST 1784 corresponded with the 48th and 49th of the cycle, or *Ananda* and *Rácshasa*.

This mode of computation disagrees with the date of a grant of land mentioned in Vol. I. page 363, of the Asiatick Researches; for *fáca* 939 must have ended in the 3d month of the 53d year of the *Vrihaspati* cycle; but, as the grant in question appears to have been made in the vicinity of *Bombay*, the difference may be accounted for in a manner, that will equally explain the disagreement noticed by Mr. MARSDEN between his authorities and the *Banáres* almanack. We learn from VARA'HAMIHIRA'S commentator, there were some

some who erroneously supposed the solar and *Vrihaspati* years to be of the same length. A memorial *śloka* known to most *Pandits*, furnishing a concise rule to find the *Vrihaspati* year, mentions astronomers in countries south of the *Nermadā* to be in their reckoning of it ten years behind those situated on the north side of that river; by the foregoing comparison of the date in the Asiatick Researches with a computation by the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, the difference is found to be 2 years; and the *Banāres* almanack for the present year mentions, that south of the *Nermadā*, the 45th year of the cycle named *Viródhacrit*, was accounted to begin in last *Māgh*; in which month, it is further observed, began at *Banāres* the present year *Dundubhi*, which is the 56th of the cycle. This difference then increases, and from the *śāca* year 939, when it was 2 years, it had to last *Māgh* become 11 years. Now, in the interval of 773 solar years between those points of time, the *Vrihaspati* reckoning must have gained upon the solar reckoning about 9 years, which, added to the former difference of 2 years, is equal to the difference now actually noticed in the *Banāres* almanack; and we may thence conclude, that the erroneous notion mentioned and refuted by VARA'HAMIHIRA'S commentator, still prevails to the south of the *Nermadā*, from which part of *India* Mr. MARSDEN'S information on the subject seems to have been originally procured. But there is no reason to suppose, that the *Vrihaspati* year is any where considered as "commencing on the same day with the years of VICRAMA'DITYA and SA'LIVA'HAN:" nor is it possible that it should; because the latter, which is solar-sidereal, commences with the sun's entrance of *Aries* in the *Hindu* ecliptick; and the former, which is luni-solar, with the preceding new moon in the month of *Chaitra*.

It may not be deemed superfluous here to add VARA'HAMIHIRA'S explanation of *Jupiter's* two cycles of 12 and 60; more especially as he cites certain particulars

iculars with a reference to the position of the colures as described by PARA'SARA, and explained in the preceding Volume of this Work.

Text.—“ *Of Vrihaspati's 12 years.* The name of the year is determined from the *Nacshatra*, in which *Vrihaspati* rises and sets (heliacally) and they follow in the order of the lunar months.”

Commentary.—“ But if, as it may happen, he should set in one and rise in another *Nacshatra*, which of the two, it may be asked, would give name to his year? Suppose him, for example, to set in *Róhini*, and to rise in *Mrigasiras* :—I answer, that in such a case, the name must be made to agree with the order of the months ; or it must be that name which in the regular series follows the name of the year expired. According to SASIPUTRA, and others, the *Nacshatra* in which *Jupiter* rises gives the name to his year. CASYÁPA says, the names of the *Samvatsara Yuga*, and the years of the cycle of sixty, are determined from the *Nacshatra* in which he rises ; and GARGA gives the same account. Some say, that *Cartic*, the first year of the cycle of 12, begins on the first day of the month of *Chaitr*, whatever may be the *Nacshatra* which *Jupiter* is then in ; and that *Prabhava* likewise, the first year of the cycle of sixty, begins in the same manner ; and some say that *Jupiter's* years are coincident with the solar years ; but that cannot be true, because the solar year exceeds in duration the *Vrihaspati* year,” &c.

Text.—“ The years beginning with *Cártic* commence with the *Nacshatra Criticà*, and to each year there appertain two *Nacshatras*, except the 5th, 11th, and 12th years, to each of which appertain three *Nacshatras*.”

Commentary.—“ The years and their corresponding *Nacshatras* are,”

| YEARS. | NACSHATRAS. |
|-------------|---|
| Cártic. | Criticà, Róhinì. |
| A'grahayan. | Mrigafiras, A'rdrà. |
| Paush. | Punarvasu, Pushya. |
| Mágh. | Aslészà, Maghà. |
| Phálgun. | Purvap'halgunì, Uttarap'halgunì, Hasta. |
| Chaitr. | Chitrà, Swáti. |
| Vaifách. | Vifácha, Anurádhà. |
| Jyaisht. | Jyészht'hà, Múla. |
| Asfar. | Purvashára, Uttarás'hára. |
| Srávan. | Sravanà, Dhanish't'hà. |
| Bhádr. | Satabhishà, Purvabhadrapadà, Ut- tarabhadrapada. |
| A'swin. | Révati, Aswinì, Bharani. |

“ Some, on GARGA's authority, hold it to be the 10th
“ instead of the 12th year to which three *Nacshatras*
“ appertain. GARGA's arrangement of them is thus:”

| | |
|---------|---|
| Phágul. | Purvap'halgunì, Uttarap'halgunì, Hasta. |
| Srávan. | Srávanà, Dhanish't'hà, Satabhishà. |
| Bhádr. | Purvabhadrapadà, Uttarabhadrapa- dà, Revati. |
| A'swin. | Aswinì, Bharanì. |

“ PARASERA's rule states, that when *Vrihaspati* is in
“ *Criticà* and *Rohini*, the year is - bad.
“ *Mrigafiras*, *A'rdrà* - - - bad.
“ *Punarvasu*, *Pushya* - - - good.
“ *Aslészà*,

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|----------|
| " <i>Aślésha</i> , <i>Magà</i> | - | - | - | - | bad. |
| " <i>Purvap'halguni</i> , <i>Uttarap'halguni</i> , <i>Hasta</i> | | | | | neutral. |
| " <i>Chritrà</i> , <i>Swāti</i> | - | - | - | - | good. |
| " <i>Viśàchà</i> , <i>Anuràdhà</i> | - | - | - | - | bad. |
| " <i>Jyēsht'ha</i> , <i>Múla</i> | - | - | - | - | bad. |
| " <i>Purvāshāra</i> , <i>Uttarāshāra</i> | - | - | | | good. |
| " <i>Sravanà</i> , <i>Dhanīsthà</i> , <i>Satabhīshà</i> | | | | - | good. |
| " <i>Purvābhadrapadà</i> , <i>Uttarābhadrapadà</i> , <i>Revati</i> | - | - | - | - | good. |
| " <i>Aświnī</i> , <i>Bharanī</i> | - | - | - | - | good. |

" On those authorities, therefore, it is the 10th, and
 " not the 12th, year to which three *Nacshatras* ap-
 " pertain."

Text.—" *Of the Vrihaspati cycle of sixty years.*
 " Multiply the expired years of *Saca* by 11, and the
 " product by 4. Add the *cshēpa* 8589. Divide the
 " sum by 3750;* and the quotient add to the years
 " of *Saca*. Divide the sum by 60 to find the year,
 " and by 12 to find the *yuga*. The *Dēvas* who pre-
 " side over the twelve years of the *yuga* are,

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| " <i>Viṣṇu</i> , | <i>The Pitris,</i> |
| " <i>Sūrya</i> , | <i>Viśwa.</i> |
| " <i>Indra</i> , | <i>Sóma.</i> |
| " <i>Agni</i> , | <i>Indrágni.</i> |
| " <i>Twashtá</i> , | <i>Aświna.</i> |
| " <i>Ahivradna</i> , | <i>Bhaga.</i> " |

Commentary.—" It is in the *Sómasanhita* that the
 " presiding *Dēvas* are thus stated. In the cycle of
 " sixty

* These numbers, 11×4 and 3750 are in the same ratio as those used in the foregoing example from the *Jyautiśtatva*: the two rules therefore are the same, with an inconsiderable difference in the *cshēpa*.

“ sixty are contained five cycles of twelve, which five
 “ cycles, or *yugas*, are named

| | | |
|---|---------|------------------|
| “ <i>Samvatsara</i> , over which presides | - | <i>Agni</i> . |
| “ <i>Parivatsara</i> | - - - - | <i>Arca</i> . |
| “ <i>Idavatsara</i> | - - - - | <i>Chandra</i> . |
| “ <i>Anuvatsara</i> | - - - - | <i>Brahmà</i> . |
| “ <i>Udravatsara</i> | - - - - | <i>Siva</i> . |

Text.—“ The first year of the cycle of sixty, named
 “ *Prabhava*, begins when in the month of *Mágha*,
 “ *Vrihaspati* rises in the first degree of the *Nacshatra*
 “ *Dhanisht'hà* : and the quality of that year is always
 “ good.”

Commentary.—“ The month of *Mágh* here meant
 “ is the lunar *Mágh* : it cannot be the solar *Mágh*,
 “ because when *Vrihaspati* rises in $9^{\circ} 23' 20''$ *Súrya*
 “ must be in $10^{\circ} 6' 12''$.”*

The years of the cycle and the presiding *Deities*
 are thus arranged by VARA'HAMIHIRA in six memo-
 rial couplets

| BRA'HMA. | VAISHNAVA. | SAIVA. |
|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| Prabhava, | Sarvajit, | Plavanga, |
| Vibhava, | Sarvadhári, | Cílaca, |
| Sucla, | Viródhi, | Saumya, |
| Pramóda, | Vicrita, | Sádhárana, |
| | | 5. Prajápati, |

* Because the beginning of *Dhanisht'hà* is west of the end of *Mágh* only $6^{\circ} 40'$, at which distance from the sun, *Jupiter* would not rise heliacally, or be seen disengaged from his rays ; but the lunar *Mágh* might extend to near the end of the solar *Phálgun*. Should the moon, however, change very soon after the sun's entrance of the *Hindu* sign *Capricorn*, coincident with *Mágh*, then neither the solar nor the lunar month of that name would agree with the terms of the proposition ; which is an instance of an imperfect astronomy.

| BRA'HMA. | VAISHNAVA. | SAIVA. |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| 5. Prajápati, | 25. C'hara, | 45. Viródhacrit, |
| Angira, | Nandana, | Paridhávi, |
| Srímuc'ha, | Vijaya, | Pramádi, |
| Bhává, | Jaya, | A'nanda, |
| Yuvà, | Manmat'ha, | Rács'hasa, |
| 10. Dhátá, | 30. Durmuc'ha, | 50. Anala, |
| Iswara, | Hémalamva, | Pingala, |
| Bahudhanya, | Vilamva, | Cálayuṣṭa, |
| Pramát'hi, | Vicári | Sidhárthi, |
| Vicrama, | Sarvari, | Raudra, |
| 15. Brísya, | 35. Plava, | 55. Durmati, |
| Chitrabhánu, | Subhacrit, | Dundubhi, |
| Subhánu, | Sóbhana, | Rudhiródgári, |
| Tárana, | Crádhi, | Raṣṭács'ha, |
| Páarthiva, | Viśwávasu, | Cródhana, |
| 20. Vyaya, | 40. Parábhava, | 60. C'shaya. |

It may be remarked, that, in the foregoing arrangements of the *Vrihaspati* years, *Cártic* is always placed the first in the cycle of twelve; and, since it is a main principle of the *Hindu* astronomy to commence the planetary motions, which are the measures of time, from the same point of the ecliptick, it may thence be inferred, that there was a time when the *Hindu* solar year, as well as the *Vrihaspati* cycle of twelve, began with the sun's arrival in, or near, the *Nacshatra Criticà*. That this year has had different beginnings is evinced by the practice of the *Chinese* and *Siamese*, who had their astronomy from *India*, and who still begin their years, probably by the rule they originally received, either from the sun's departure from the winter solstice, or from the preceding new moon, which has the same reference to the winter solstice that the *Hindu* year of VICRAMA'DITYA has to the vernal

vernal equinox. The commentator on the *Súrya Siddhánta* expressly says, that the authors of the books generally termed *Sanhitás*, accounted the *Déva* day to begin in the beginning of the sun's northern road: now, the *Déva* day is the solar year; and the sun's northern road begins in the winter solstice; and hence it should seem, that some of those authors began the solar year exactly as the *Chinese* do at this time. This might moreover have been the custom in *PARASARA*'s time; for the phenomenon, which is said to mark the beginning of the *Vrihaspati* cycle of sixty, refers to the beginning of *Danishthá*, which is precisely that point of the ecliptick through which the solstice passed when he wrote.

There are, beside these apparent changes made by the *Hindus*, in their mode of commencing the year, abundant instances of alterations and corrections in their astronomy, an inquiry into which might, by fixing certain chronological data, throw considerable light on their history; and it is scarcely necessary to observe, with how much more advantage an investigation of this kind would be made with the assistance of such astronomical books, written in the *Déva Nagari* characters, as might easily be had from *Haidarábad* and *Púna*, if the *English* residents there would interest themselves to procure them. Copies of the astronomical rules followed at *Bombay* and *Gujarat*, might also prove of use, if *NIEBUHR** was not misinformed, who says the natives there begin the year with the month of *Cártic*, which has an evident reference to the autumnal equinox, and may perhaps be computed by the *Arsha Siddhánta*, mentioned in Vol. I. p. 261, as accounting the day to begin at sunset: for sunset with the *Dévas* is the sun's departure from the autumnal equinox; and it is invariably observed in their astronomy

* "Le nouvel an chez les *Indiens* à *Guzerat*, que ceux de *Bombay* suivent aussi, vient du mois *Kartig*, mais à *Scindi* on le célèbre au mois *Asar*." Tom. 2. p. 21.

astronomy to account the different measures of time as having begun originally from the same instant.

But of all places in *India*, to which *Europeans* might have access, *Ujjein* is probably the best furnished with mathematical and astronomical productions; for it was formerly a principal seminary of those sciences, and is still referred to as the first meridian. Almost any trouble and expense would be compensated by the possession of the three copious treatises on Algebra, from which BHA'SCARA declares he extracted his *Bija Ganita*, and which in this part of *India* are supposed to be entirely lost. But the principal object of the proposed inquiry would be, to trace as much as possible of that gradual progress, whereby the *Hindu* astronomy has arrived at its present state of comparative perfection; whence might be formed more probable conjectures of its origin and antiquity than have yet appeared: for, I imagine, there are few of M. BAILLY's opinion, that the *cali yug*, or any *yug*, had its origin, any more than our *Julian* period, in an actual observation, who have considered the nature and use of those cycles, of the relative *bhaganas*, or revolutions of the planets, and the alterations* which the latter have at different times undergone; concerning which several particulars, M. BAILLY, it must be acknowledged, had but little information.† What was the real position of the planets and the state of astronomy, when the *cali yug*

* Instances in *Jupiter's* mean motion. A'RYABHATTA gave the revolutions as 364224 in 4320000 solar years. BHA'SCAR, in his *Sirómani*, 364226455 in 4320000000 solar years. The *Súrya Siddhanta* 364220 in 4320000 solar years; which latter, by the *bija* introduced since, are reduced to 364212 in the same period.

† But it is not thence to be inferred, that the *Hindus* did not exist as a nation, or that they made no observations of the heavens, as long ago as 4890 years: all that is here meant is, that the observations ascribed to them by M. BAILLY, does not necessarily follow from any thing that is known of their astronomy; but, on the contrary, from the

yug began, or 4892 years ago, will probably never be known; but the latter must certainly have undergone considerable improvement since the last quoted *śloka* of VARA'HAMIHIRA was received as a rule; for it supposes the mean motion of *Jupiter* to be to that of the sun, as 60 to some integer; apparently to 720; as 5 to 60, or as 1 to 12; without which, the beginning and successive returns of the cycle of sixty could never be denoted by the heliacal rising of *Jupiter* in *Dhanishṭ'hā*, or in any constant point of the zodiack; and at a time when the mean motion of *Jupiter* was so much mistaken, it may reasonably be supposed, that the more difficult parts of astronomy were very imperfectly understood. If the ratio were as 1 to 12, which is implied by the *yuga* of twelve, (for the term *yuga* means conjunction, or coincidence,) then a conjunction of the sun and *Jupiter* would happen at the end of every period of twelve years in the same point of the zodiack, and the cycle of sixty might begin in the manner described: but this must long since have ceased to be the rule, or at least since the time of A'RYABHATTA; for, if the cycle be supposed to begin with the sun and *Jupiter* in *Dhanishṭ'hā*, then in sixty of *Jupiter's* years that planet will again be in *Dhanishṭ'hā*; but in sixty of such years there are, by the data ascribed to A'RYABHATTA, only 59 years, 3 months, and some days of solar time: the next cycle, therefore, could not have the same beginning, because the sun would be found more than 90 degrees distant from *Jupiter's* mean place, and in 60 years more that distance would be doubled. As this disagreement with the rule could not have been unknown to VARA'HAMIHIRA, who gives the *bhaganas* from A'RYABHATTA as 364224 in 4320000 solar years, he may be supposed

the nature of the subject it appears, that the *Cali yug* was, like the *Julian* period, fixed by retrospective computation; which might still have happened although astronomy had originated, which is not at all improbable, in much higher antiquity.

Neither

posed to have only cited what he had learned from other treatises merely as an astrological maxim, his *Saṁhitā* being a treatise on *astrology*, not on practical *astronomy*; and this conjecture will appear the more reasonable, when it is considered, that notions wholly inconsistent with the latter, and which must have originated in remote ages, when science of any kind had made but small progress, are still preserved in different *śāstras*; as in the *Bhāgavat*, which, treating on the system of the universe, places the moon above the sun, and the planets above the fixed stars.

To render this paper more intelligible, I have subjoined a diagram of the *Hindu* ecliptick, which may also serve to illustrate some astronomical papers in the preceding Volume. Its origin is considered as distant 180 degrees in longitude from *Spica*; a star which seems to have been of great use in regulating their astronomy, and to which the *Hindu* tables of the best

VOL. III.

Q

authority,

Neither LE GENTIL, nor BAILLY, had any other authority for placing the origin of the *Hindu* zodiack in longitude 10s 60, at the beginning of the *cali yug*, than results from a computation of the precession for 3600 years, at the end of which expired term of the *cali yug*, it coincided with the equinox: it is certain, that the *Brāhmins* in this part of *India* suppose, as their astronomy implies, a similar coincidence, together with a conjunction of the planets in the same point by their mean motions when the *cali yug* began; and since in the present amount of the precession, and consequently in the origin of the zodiack, as well as in many other particulars, the *Brāhmins* of *Trivalore* agree with those of *Bengal*, it is not at all probable that they should have different systems. But M. BAILLY thinks the *Indian* zodiack has had two origins; one of them as I describe it; the other, as he computes it for the beginning of the *cali yug*. It may indeed have had many origins, although there seems at present but one to be found; for it is not in the least inconsistent with the principles of the *Hindu* astronomy, to suppose that, if ever an alteration took place in the mode of beginning the year, some alteration was at the same time made in the origin of the zodiack likewise. The origin of the *Chinese* zodiack is described to be in a part of the heavens opposite to that of the *Hindus*; for *Spica* distinguishes their constellation *Kiv*, which is the first of their twenty-eight lunar mansions; and since it is agreed, that both systems were originally the same, a considerable alteration, with respect to the origin of the zodiack, must necessarily have happened in one of them.

authority, although they differ in other particulars, agree in assigning six signs of longitude, counted from the beginning of *Ashwinī*, their first *Nacshatra*. From the beginning of *Ashwinī* (according to the *Hindu* precession, now $19^{\circ} 22'$, but which is in reality something further distant from the vernal equinox) the ecliptick is divided into twenty-seven equal parts, or *Nacshatras*, of $13^{\circ} 20'$ each; the twenty-eighth, named *Abhijit*, being formed out of the last quarter of *Uttarashāra*, and as much of *Sravanā* as is necessary to complete the moon's periodical month. The years of *Jupiter's* cycle are expressed in their order with numerals: *a* is the former position of the colures, as explained in Vol. II. and *b*, *c*, mark the limits of the precession resulting from the *Hindu* method of computing it. The outer dotted circle is the *European* ecliptick, in which is noted the beginning of the *Hindu*, and likewise of the *European* year. For want of room, the signs are distinguished in both with the usual characters. The two stars pointed out by the most skilful *Pandit* I have yet met with, as distinguishing *Ashwinī*, are β and γ *Arietis*, which distinguish also *alsharatān*, the first *Arabian menzil*; and the latter is said to be the *yōga*, whose longitude and latitude are stated certainly with great incorrectness, as 8° and 10° north; but the error, if it be not owing to transcribers, is inexplicable.

The solar months, it may be observed, correspond in name with the like number of *Nacshatras*: this is ascribed to the months having been originally lunar, and their names derived from the *Nacshatras*, in which the moon, departing from a particular point, was observed to be at the full; for, although the full moon did not always happen in those particular *Nacshatras*, yet the deviation never exceeded the preceding or the succeeding *Nacshatra*; and whether it fell in *Hastā*, *Chitrā*, or *Swāti*, still that month was named *Chaitrā*; and so of the rest. This is the explanation of the month given by *NRISINHA*, who in the same manner

manner explains *Jupiter's* cycle of twelve years, the names of which could not always correspond with those of the *Nacshatras* in which he rose heliacally.

Of the *Hindu* method of intercalating the lunar month, M. BAILLY conceived a right idea from what P. DU CHAMP had said on the subject; but he has omitted to mention a curious circumstance consequent to it, which is, that sometimes there happen *two* intercalary months in the same year; or, to be more precise, *two* lunar months are named *twice* over; thus, as was actually the case in 1603 *Sáca*, there may be two lunar *Afwinas*, and two *Chaitras*; but then some one intervening month, as *Agraháyan*, would be omitted, because the change of the moon would not happen at all during the solar month of that name. During the present position of the sun's apsis, this *ch'che* (cshaya?) or discarded month, is limited to *Agraháyan*, *Paush*, or *Mágh*, those being the three shortest solar months; and, by the *Hindu* computation, the discarded month will again fall on *Agraháyan* in 1744 *Sáca*.

Bhágalpur, 1 Dec. 1791.

X.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE
METHOD OF CATCHING WILD ELEPHANTS
AT TIPURA.

By JOHN CORSE, Esq.

IN the month of *November*, when the weather has become cool, and the swamps and marshes, formed by the rains in the five preceding months, are lessened, and some of them dried up, a number of people are employed to go in quest of elephants.

At this season the males come from the recesses of the forest into the borders and outskirts thereof, whence they make nocturnal excursions into the plains in search of food, and where they often destroy the labours of the husbandman, by devouring and trampling down the rice, sugar-canes, &c. that they meet with. A herd or drove of elephants, from what I can learn, has never been seen to leave the woods: some of the largest males often stray to a considerable distance, but the young ones always remain in the forest under the protection of the *Palmai*, or leader of the herd, and of the larger elephants. The *Goondahs*, or large males, come out singly, or in small parties, sometimes in the morning, but commonly in the evening, and they continue to feed all night upon the long grass that grows amidst the swamps and marshes, and of which they are extremely fond. As often, however, as they have an opportunity, they commit depredations on the rice fields, sugar-canes, and plantain-trees, that are near, which oblige the farmers to keep regular watch, under a small cover, erected on the tops of a few long bamboos, about 14 feet from the ground:

ground: and this precaution is necessary to protect them from the tigers, with which this province abounds. From this lofty station the alarm is soon communicated from one watchman to another, and the neighbouring villages, by means of a rattle with which each is provided. With their shouts and cries, and noise of the rattles, the elephants are generally scared, and retire. It sometimes however happens, that the males advance even to the villages, overturn the houses, and kill those who unfortunately come in their way, unless they have had time to light a number of fires: this element seems to be the most dreaded by wild elephants, and a few lighted whisps of straw or grafs, seldom fail to stop their progress. To secure one of the males, a very different method is employed from that which is taken to secure a herd: the former is taken by *Koomkees*, or female elephants trained for the purpose, whereas the latter is driven into a strong enclosure, called a *Keddah*.

As the hunters know the places where the elephants come out to feed, they advance towards them in the evening with four *Koomkees*, which is the number of which each hunting party consists: when the nights are dark, (and these are the most favourable for their purpose,) the male elephants are discovered by the noise they make in cleaning their food, by whisking and striking it against their fore-legs, and by moon-light they can see them distinctly at some distance.

As soon as they have determined on the *Goondah* they mean to secure, three of the *Koomkees* are conducted silently and slowly by their *Mahotes* (drivers) at a moderate distance from each other, near to the place where he is feeding; the *Koomkees* advance very cautiously, feeding as they go along, and appear like wild elephants that had strayed from the jungle. When the male perceives them approaching, if he takes the alarm, and is viciously inclined, he beats
the

the ground with his trunk, and makes a noise, showing evident marks of his displeasure, and that he will not allow them to approach nearer; and if they persist, he will immediately attack and gore them with his tusks: for which reason they take care to retreat in good time. But should he be amorously disposed, which is generally the case, (as these males are supposed to be driven from the herd at a particular period by their seniors, to prevent their having connection with the females of that herd), he allows the females to approach, and sometimes even advances to meet them.

When, from these appearances, the *Mahotes* judge that he will become their prize, they conduct two of the females, one on each side, close to him, and make them advance backwards, and press gently with their posteriors against his neck and shoulders; the 3d female then comes up, and places herself directly across his tail: in this situation, so far from suspecting any design against his liberty, he begins to toy with the females, and caresses them with his trunk. While thus engaged, the 4th female is brought near, with ropes and proper assistants, who immediately get under the belly of the 3d female, and put a flight cord (the *Chilkah*) round his hind legs; should he move, it is easily broken, in which case, if he takes no notice of this slight confinement, nor appears suspicious of what is going forward, the hunters then proceed to tie his legs with a strong cord (called *Bunda*) which is passed alternately, by means of a forked stick, and a kind of hook, from one leg to the other, forming the figure of 8; and as these ropes are short, for the convenience of being more readily put around his legs, 6 or 8 are generally employed, and they are made fast by another cord, (the *Dagbearee*) which is passed a few turns perpendicularly between his legs, where the folds of the *Bundaks* intersect each other. A strong cable (the *Phand*) with

with a running noose, 60 cubits long, is next put round each hind leg immediately above the *Bundahs*; and again, above them, 6 or 8 additional *Bundahs*, according to the size of the elephant, are made fast, in the same manner as the others were: the putting on these ropes generally takes up about 20 minutes, during which the utmost silence is observed, and the *Mahotes*, who keep flat upon the necks of the females, are covered with dark-coloured cloths, which serve to keep them warm, and at the same time do not attract the notice of the elephant. While the people are busily employed in tying the legs of the *Goondah*, he caresses sometimes one, and sometimes another of the seducers, (*Kootnee*) examining their beauties, and toying with different parts, by which his desires are excited, and his attention diverted from the hunters, and in these amorous dalliances he is indulged by the females. But if his passions should be so roused, before his legs are properly secured, as to induce him to attempt leaping on one of the females, the *Mahote*, to ensure his own safety, and prevent him gratifying his desires any further, makes the female run away; and at the same time, by raising his voice, and making a noise, he deters the *Goondah* from pursuing. This however happens very seldom; for he is so secured by the pressure of a *Koomkee* on each side, and one behind, that he can hardly turn himself, or see any of the people, who always keep snug under the belly of the third female, that stands across his tail, and which serves both to keep him steady, and prevent his kicking any of the people who are employed in securing him; but in general he is so much taken up with his decoyers, as to attend very little to any thing else. In case of accidents, however, should the *Goondah* break loose, the people, upon the first alarm, can always mount on the backs of the tame elephants, by a rope that hangs ready for the purpose, and thus get out of his reach. When his hind legs are properly secured, they leave him to himself, and retire to a small distance: as soon

as the *Koomkees* leave him, he attempts to follow, but finding his legs tied, he is roused to a proper sense of his situation, and retreats toward the jungle; the *Mahotes* follow at a moderate distance from him on the tame elephants, accompanied by a number of people that had been previously sent for, and who, as soon as the *Goondah* passes near a stout tree, make a few turns of the *Phands*, or long cables, that are trailing behind him, around his trunk; his progress being thus stopped, he becomes furious, and exerts his utmost force to disengage himself; nor will he then allow any of the *Koomkees* to come near him, but is outrageous for some time, falling down, and goring the earth with his tusks. If by these exertions the *Phands* are once broken, which sometimes is effected, and he escapes into the thick jungle, the *Mahotes* dare not advance for fear of the other wild elephants, and are therefore obliged to leave him to his fate; and in this hampered situation, it is said, he is even ungenerously attacked by the other wild elephants. As the cables are very strong, and seldom give way, when he has exhausted himself by his exertions, the *Koomkees* are again brought near, and take their former positions, viz. one on each side, and the other behind. After getting him nearer the tree, the people carry the ends of the long cables around his legs, then back and about the trunk of the tree, making, if they can, two or three turns, so as to prevent even the possibility of his escape. It would be almost impossible to secure an elephant in any other manner, as he would tear up any stake that could at the time be driven into the ground, and even the noise of doing it would frighten the elephant: for these reasons, as far as I can learn, nothing less than a strong tree is ever trusted to by the hunters. For still farther security, as well as to confine him from moving to either side, his fore-legs are tied exactly in the same manner as the hind-legs were, and the *Phands* are made fast, one on each side, to trees or stakes driven deep into the earth. During the process of

tying

tying both the hind and fore-legs, the fourth *Koomkee* gives assistance where necessary, and the people employed cautiously avoid going within reach of his trunk; and when he attempts to seize them, they retreat to the opposite side of the *Koomkees*, and get on them, if necessary, by means of the rope above-mentioned, which hangs ready for them to lay hold of. Although, by these means, he is perfectly secured, and cannot escape, yet, as it would be both unsafe and inconvenient to allow him to remain in the verge of the jungle, a number of additional ropes are afterwards put on, as shall be mentioned, for the purpose of conducting him to a proper station. When the *Goondah* has become more settled, and eat a little food, with which he is supplied, as soon as he is taken, the *Koomkees* are again brought near, and a strong rope (*Phara*) is then put twice round his body, close to his fore-legs like a girth, and tied behind his shoulder; then the long end is carried back close to his rump, and there fastened, after a couple of turns more have been made round his body. Another cord is next fastened to the *Phara*, and from thence carried under his tail like a crupper (*dooblah*) and brought forward, and fastened by a turn or two, to each of the *Pharas* or girths, by which the whole is connected, and each turn of these cords serves to keep the rest in their places. After this a strong rope (the *Tooman*) is put round his buttocks, and made fast on each side to the girth and crupper, so as to confine the motion of his thighs, and prevent his taking a full step. These smaller ropes being properly adjusted, a couple of large cables (the *Dools*) with running nooses are put around his neck, and after being drawn moderately tight, the nooses are secured from running closer, and then tied to the ropes on each side forming the girth and crupper already mentioned; and thus all these ropes are connected and kept in their proper places, without any risk of the nooses of the *Dools* becoming tight, so as to endanger the life of the elephant in his exertions to free himself. The ends
of

of these cables are made fast to two *Koomkees*, one on each side of the *Goondah*, by a couple of turns round the belly, close to the shoulder, like a girth, where a turn is made, and it is then carried across the chest, and fastened to the girth on the opposite side. Every thing being now ready, and a passage cleared from the jungle, all the ropes are taken from his legs, and only the *Tooman* remains round his buttocks to confine the motion of his hind legs: the *Koomkees* pull him forward by the *Dools*, and the people from behind urge him on. Instead of advancing in the direction they wish, he attempts to retreat farther into the jungle; he exerts all his force, falls down, and tears the earth with his tusks, screaming and groaning, and by his violent exertions often hurts and bruises himself very much; and instances happen of their surviving these violent exertions only a few hours, or at most a few days. In general, however, they soon become reconciled to their fate, will eat immediately after they are taken, and, if necessary, may be conducted from the verge of the jungle as soon as a passage is cleared. When the elephant is brought to his proper station, and made fast, he is treated with a mixture of severity and gentleness, and in a few months (if docile) he becomes tractable, and appears perfectly reconciled to his fate. It appears somewhat extraordinary, that though the *Goondah* uses his utmost force to disengage himself when taken, and would kill any person coming within his reach, yet he never, or at least seldom, attempts to hurt the females that have ensnared him, but, on the contrary, seems pleased, (as often as they are brought near, in order to adjust his harnessing, or move and slacken those ropes which gall him) soothed and comforted by them, as it were, for the loss of his liberty. All the elephants, soon after they are taken, are led out occasionally for exercise by the *Koomkees*, which attend for that purpose.

Having now related, partly from my own knowledge,
and

and partly from comparing the accounts given by different people employed in this business, the manner in which the male elephants, called *Goondahs*, are secured, I shall next entirely, from my own knowledge, describe the methods I have seen employed for securing a herd of wild elephants. Female elephants are never taken singly, but always in the herd, which consists of young and old of both sexes. This noble, docile, and useful animal, seems naturally of a social disposition, as a herd in general consists of about 40 to 100, and is conducted under the direction of one of the oldest and largest females, called the *Palmai*, and one of the largest males. When a herd is discovered, about 500 people are employed to surround it, who divide themselves into small parties, called *Chokeys*, consisting generally of one *Mahote* and two *Coolies*, at the distance of twenty or thirty yards from each other, and form an irregular circle, in which the elephants are enclosed: each party lights a fire, and clears a foot-path to the station that is next him, by which a regular communication is soon formed through the whole circumference from one to the other. By this path reinforcements can immediately be brought to any place where an alarm is given: and it is also necessary for the superintendants, who are always going round, to see that the people are alert upon their posts. The first circle (the *Dawkee*) being thus formed, the remaining part of the day and night is spent in keeping watch by turns, or in cooking for themselves and companions. Early next morning, one man is detached from each station, to form another circle in that direction where they wish the elephants to advance. When it is finished, the people stationed nearest to the new circle, put out their fires, and file off to the right and left, to form the advanced party, thus leaving an opening for the herd to advance through, and by this movement, both the old and new circle are joined, and form an oblong. The people from behind now begin shouting and making a noise with their rattles, *tomtoms*, &c. to cause
the

the elephants to advance: and as soon as they are got within the new circle, the people close up, take their proper stations, and pass the remaining part of the day and night as before. In the morning the same process is repeated, and in this manner the herd advances slowly in that direction, where they find themselves least incommoded by the noise and clamour of the hunters, feeding, as they go along, upon branches of trees, leaves of bamboos, &c. which come in their way. If they suspected any snare, they could easily break through the circle; but this inoffensive animal, going merely in quest of food, and not seeing any of the people who surround him, and who are concealed by the thick jungle, advances without suspicion, and appears only to avoid being pestered by their noise and din. As fire is the thing elephants seem most afraid of in their wild state, and will seldom venture near it, the hunters always have a number of fires lighted, and particularly at night, to prevent the elephants coming too near, as well as to cook their victuals, and keep them warm. The sentinels supply these fires with fuel, especially green bamboos, which are generally at hand, and which, by the crackling and loud report they make, together with the noise of the watchmen, deter the elephants from coming near; so that the herd generally remains at a distance near the centre of the circle. Should they at any time advance, the alarm is given, and all the people immediately make a noise, and use their rattles, to make them keep at a greater distance. In this manner they are gradually brought to the *Kedah*, or place where they are to be secured. As the natives are extremely slow in their operations, they seldom bring the herd above one circle in a day, except on an emergency, when they exert themselves, and advance two circles. They have no tents or covering but the thick woods, which, during the day, keep off the rays of the sun; and at night they sleep by the fires they have lighted, upon mats spread on the ground, wrapt up in a piece of coarse cloth. The season is then
so

so mild, that the people continue very healthy, and an accident seldom happens, except to stragglers about the outskirts of the wood, who are sometimes, though very rarely, carried off by tigers. The *Keddah*, or place where the herd is to be secured, is differently constructed in different places; here it consists of three enclosures, communicating with each other by means of narrow openings or gateways. The outer enclosure, or the one next to the place where the elephants are to enter, is the largest; the middle one is generally, though not always, the next in size, and the third or furthestmost is the smallest: these proportions, however, are not always adhered to in the making of a *Keddah*, nor indeed does there appear to me any reason for making three enclosures; but as my intentions are merely to relate facts, I shall proceed to observe, that when in the third or last enclosure, the elephants are then only deemed secure: here they are kept six or eight days, and are regularly, though scantily, fed from a scaffold on the outside, close to the entrance of an outlet called the *Roomee*, which is about sixty feet long, and very narrow, and through which the elephants are to be taken out one by one. In many places this mode is not adopted; for as soon as the herd has been surrounded by a strong palisade, *Koomkees* are sent in with proper people, who tie them on the spot, in the same manner as was mentioned above of the *Goon-dahs*, or male elephants, that are taken singly. These enclosures are all pretty strong, but the third is the strongest; nor are the elephants deemed secure, as already observed, till they have entered it. This enclosure has, like the other two, a pretty deep ditch on the inside; and upon the bank of earth, that is thrown up from the excavation, a row of strong palisades of middle-sized trees is planted, strengthened with cross-bars, which are tied to them about the distance of fourteen inches from each other; and these are supported on the outside by strong posts like buttresses, having one end sunk in the earth, and the other pressing against the

cross-bars to which they are fastened. When the herd is brought near to the first enclosure, or *Baigcote*, which has two gateways towards the jungle, from which the elephants are to advance, (these, as well as the other gateways, are disguised with branches of trees and bamboos stuck in the ground, so as to give them the appearance of a natural jungle,) the greatest difficulty is to get the herd to enter the first or outer enclosure; for, notwithstanding the precautions taken to disguise both the entries as well as the palisade which surrounds this enclosure, the *Palmai*, or leader, now appears to suspect some snare, from the difficulty and hesitation with which in general she passes into it; but, as soon as she enters, the whole herd implicitly follows. Immediately, when they are all passed the gateway, fires are lighted round the greatest part of the enclosure, and particularly at the entries, to prevent the elephants from returning. The hunters from without then make a terrible noise by shouting, beating of *tomtoms*, (a kind of drum,) firing blunt cartridges, &c. to urge the herd on to the next enclosure. The elephants, finding themselves ensnared, scream and make a noise; but, seeing no opening except the entrance to the next enclosure, and which they at first generally avoid, they return to the place through which they lately passed, thinking perhaps to escape, but now find it strongly barricaded; and, as there is no ditch at this place, the hunters, to prevent their coming near, and forcing their way, keep a line of fire constantly burning all along where the ditch is interrupted, and supply it with fuel from the top of the palisade, and the people from without making a noise, shouting and hallooing to drive them away. Wherever they turn, they find themselves opposed by burning fires, or bundles of reeds, and dried grass, which are thrust through the opening of the palisades, except towards the entrance of the second enclosure, or *Doobrazecote*. After traversing the *Baigcote* for some time, and finding no chance of escaping but through the gateway into the next enclosure, the leader enters, and the rest follow :

follow: the gate is instantly shut by people, who are stationed on a small scaffold immediately above it, and strongly barricaded; fires are lighted, and the same discordant din made and continued, till the herd has passed through another gateway into the last enclosure, or *Rajecote*, the gate of which is secured in the same manner as the former was. The elephants, being now completely surrounded on all sides, and perceiving no outlet through which they can escape, appear desperate, and in their fury advance frequently to the ditch, in order to break down the palisade, inflating their trunks, screaming louder and shriller than any trumpet, sometimes grumbling like the hollow murmur of distant thunder; but, wherever they make an attack, they are opposed by lighted fires, and by the noise and triumphant shouts of the hunters. As they must remain some time in this enclosure, care is always taken to have part of the ditch filled with water, which is supplied by a small stream, either natural, or conducted through an artificial channel from some neighbouring reservoir. The elephants have recourse to this water to quench their thirst, and cool themselves after their fatigues, by sucking the water into their trunks, and then squirting it over every part of their bodies. While they remain in this enclosure, they continue sulky, and seem to meditate their escape; but the hunters build huts, and form an encampment, as it were, around them, close to the palisade; watchmen are placed, and every precaution used to prevent their breaking through. This they would soon effect, if left to themselves, notwithstanding the palisade is made of very strong stakes, sunk into the earth on the outside of the ditch, and strengthened by cross-bars and buttresses, as already mentioned.

When the herd has continued a few days in the *Kedah*, the doors of the *Roomie* is opened, into which some one of the elephants is enticed to enter, by having food thrown first before, and then gradually further on into the

the passage, till the elephant has advanced far enough to admit of the gates being shut. Above this wicker gate, or door, two men are stationed on a small scaffold, who throw down the food. When the elephant has passed beyond the door, they give the signal to a man, who, from without, shuts it by pulling a string; and they secure it by throwing two bars, that stood perpendicular on each side, the one across the other, thus X, forming the figure of St. Andrew's Cross; and then two similar bars are thrown across each other behind the door next to the *Keddah*, so that the door is in the centre. For farther security, horizontal bars are pushed across the *Roomee*, through the openings of the palisades, both before and behind these crosses, to prevent the possibility of the doors being broken. The *Roomee* is so narrow, that a large elephant cannot turn in it; but, as soon as he hears the noise that is made in shutting the gate, he retreats backwards, and endeavours to force it. Being now secured in the manner already noticed, his efforts are unavailing. Finding his retreat thus cut off, he advances, and exerts his utmost force to break down the bars, which were previously put across a little farther on in the outlet, by running against them, screaming and roaring, and battering them, like a ram, by repeated blows of his head, retreating and advancing with the utmost fury. In his rage, he rises, and leaps upon the bars with his fore-feet, and strives to break them down with his huge weight. In *February*, 1788, a large female elephant dropt down dead in the *Roomee*, from the violent exertions she made. When the elephant is somewhat fatigued by these exertions, strong ropes,* with running nooses, are placed in the outlet by the hunters; and as soon as he puts a foot within the noose, it is immediately drawn tight, and fastened to the palisades. When all his feet have been made pretty fast, two men

VOL. III.

R.

place

* These are of the same form and size nearly as the *Phands*, but much shorter in proportion.

place themselves behind some bars, that run across the *Roomee*, to prevent his kicking them, and with great caution tie his hind-legs together, by passing a cord alternately from the one to the other, like the figure 8, and then fastening these turns as above described. After this, the *Pharah*, *Dools*, &c. are put on in succession, in the same manner as on the *Goondah*, only that here the people are in greater security. While these ropes are making fast, the other hunters are careful not to go too near, but keep on the outside of the palisade, and divert his attention, as much as they can, from those employed in fastening them, by supplying him with grass, and sometimes with plantain-leaves and sugar-canes, of which he is remarkably fond, by presenting a stick, giving him hopes of catching it, or by gently striking or tickling his proboscis. He frequently, however, seizes the ropes with his trunk, and endeavours to break them, particularly those with which his feet are tied, and sometimes tries to bite them through with his grinders, (as he has no incisors, or front teeth;) but the hunters then goad him with sharpened bamboos, or light spears, so as to make him quit his hold. Those who are employed in putting the ropes around his body, and over his head, stand above him, on a small kind of platform, consisting of a few bars run across through the openings of the palisades; and, as an elephant cannot see any thing that is above, and rather behind his head, they are very little incommoded by him, although he appears to smell them, and endeavours to catch them with his trunk. When the whole apparatus is properly secured, the ends of the two cables (*Dools*) which were fastened round his neck, are brought forward to the end of the *Roomee*, where two female elephants are waiting, and to them these cables are made fast. When every thing is ready, the door at the end of the outlet is opened, the cross-bars are removed, and the passage left clear. The ropes that tied his legs to the palisades are loosened; and, if he does not advance readily, they goad him

with long poles, sharpened at the ends, or pointed with iron, and urge him on with their noise and din; and at the same time the females pull him gently forward. As soon as he has cleared the *Roomée*, his conductors separate; so that if he attempts to go to one side, he is prevented by the elephant that pulls in the opposite direction, and *vice versa*. The *Bundahs*, which tie his hind legs, though but loosely, yet prevent his going fast; and thus situated, he is conducted like an enraged bull, that has a cord fastened to his horns on each side, so that he cannot turn either to the right or left to avenge himself. In like manner is this noble animal led to the next tree, as the *Goondahs* before-mentioned were. Sometimes he becomes obstinate, and will not advance; in which case, while one of his conductors draws him forward, the other comes behind, and pushes him on. Should he lie down, she puts her snout under, and raises him up, supporting him on her knee, and with her head pushing him forward with all her strength. The hunters likewise assist, by goading him, and urging him forward by their noise and din. Sometimes they are even obliged to put lighted torches near, in order to make him advance. In conducting small elephants from the *Roomée*, only one cable and one *Koomkee* are made use of. As soon as each elephant is secured, he is left in charge to the *Mahote*, or keeper, who is appointed to attend and instruct him; and, under him, there are from two to five *Coolies*, according to the size of the elephant, in order to assist, and to supply food and water, till he becomes so tractable as to bring the former himself. These people erect a small hut immediately before him, where the *Mahote*, or one of the *Coolies*, constantly attends, supplies him with food, and soothes and caresses him by a variety of little arts. Sometimes the *Mahote* threatens, and even goads him with a long stick, pointed with iron, but more generally coaxes and flatters him, scratching his head and trunk with a long bamboo, split at one end into many pieces, and driving away the flies from

any sores occasioned by the hurts and bruises he got by his efforts to escape from the *Roomee*. This animal's skin is soft, considering his great size; and being extremely sensible, is easily cut or pierced, more so than the skin of most large quadrupeds. The *Mahote* likewise keeps him cool, by squirting water all over him, and standing without the reach of his trunk. In a few days he advances cautiously to his side, and strokes and pats him with his hand, speaking to him all the while in a soothing tone of voice; and in a little time he begins to know his keeper, and obey his commands. By degrees, the *Mahote* becomes familiar to him; and at length gets upon his back from one of the tame elephants; and as the animal becomes more tractable, he advances gradually forward towards his head, till at last he is permitted to seat himself on his neck, from which place he afterwards regulates and directs all his motions. While they are training in this manner, the tame elephants lead out the others in turn, for the sake of exercise, and likewise to ease their legs from the cords with which they are tied, and which are apt to gall them most terribly, unless they are regularly slacked and shifted. In five or six weeks the elephant becomes obedient to his keeper; his fetters are taken off by degrees; and generally, in about five or six months, he suffers himself to be conducted by the *Mahote* from one place to another. Care, however, is always taken not to let him approach his former haunts, lest a recollection of the freedom he there enjoyed, should induce him again to recover his liberty. This obedience to his conductor seems to proceed partly from a sense of generosity, as it is, in some measure, voluntarily; for, whenever an elephant takes fright, or is determined to run away, all the exertions of the *Mahote* cannot prevent him, even by beating, or digging the pointed iron hook into his head with which he directs him. On such an occasion the animal totally disregards these feeble efforts; otherwise he could shake or pull him off with his trunk, and dash him in pieces.

pieces. Accidents of this kind happen almost every year, especially to those *Mahotes* who attend the large *Goondahs*; but such accidents are in general owing entirely to their own carelessness and neglect. It is necessary to treat the males with much greater severity than the females, to keep them in awe; but it is too common a practice among the *Mahotes*, either to be negligent in using proper measures to render their elephants docile, or to trust too much to their good nature, before they are thoroughly acquainted with their dispositions. The iron hook with which they direct them is pretty heavy, about sixteen inches long, with a straight spike advancing a little beyond the curve of the hook, so that altogether it is exactly like that which ferrymen or boatmen use fastened to a long pole.

In this account of the process for catching and taming elephants, I have used the masculine gender, to avoid circumlocution, as both males and females are treated in the same manner. The former are seldom so docile; but, like the males of other animals, are fiercer, stronger, and more untractable, than the females.

Before I conclude, it may be proper to observe, that young elephants suck constantly with their mouths, and never with their trunks, as BUFFON has asserted; a conclusion he made merely from conjecture, and the great and various uses to which they are well adapted and applied by every elephant.

I have seen young ones, from one day to three years old, sucking their dams; but never saw them use their trunks, except to press the breast, which, by natural instinct, they seemed to know would make the milk flow more readily. The mode of connection between the male and female is now ascertained beyond the possibility of a doubt; as Mr. BULLER, Lieut. HAWKINS, and many others, saw a male copulate with a female,

female, after they were secured in the *Keddah*, in a manner exactly similar to the conjunction of the horse with a mare.

This fact entirely overturns what has been so often related concerning the supposed delicacy of this useful animal, and a variety of other hypothesis, which are equally void of foundation. As far as I know, the exact time an elephant goes with young has not yet been ascertained, but which cannot be less than two years, as one of the elephants brought forth a young one twenty-one months and three days after she was taken. She was observed to be with young in *April* or *May*, 1788, and she was only taken in *January* preceding; so that it is very likely she must have had connection with the male some months before she was secured, otherwise they could not discover that she was with young, as a foetus of less than six months cannot well be supposed to make any alteration in the size or shape of so large an animal. The young one, a male, was produced *October* 16th, 1789, and appeared in every respect to have arrived at its full time. Mr. HARRIS, to whom it belongs, examined its mouth a few days after it was brought forth, and found that one of its grinders on each side had partly cut the gum. It is now alive and well, and begins to chew a little grass.

I have further to remark, that one of the tusks of the young elephant made its appearance, so that we can now ascertain it to be of that species called *Mucknah*, the tusks of which are always small, and point nearly straight downwards. He was thirty-five inches high at his birth, and is now thirty-nine, so that he has grown four inches in nearly as many months. Elephants are always measured at the shoulder; for the arch or curve of the back, of young ones particularly, is considerably higher than any other part; and it is a sure sign of old age, whenever this curve is found flattened,

tened, or considerably depressed, after an elephant has once attained his full growth.

Though these remarks, as well as several others in the above relation, do not come within the plan I proposed, which was merely to describe the method of taking wild elephants in the province of *Tipura*, yet I hope they will not be deemed impertinent or superfluous, especially as several of them tend to establish some important facts in the natural history of this animal, that are not known, or not attended to, at least in any accounts that I had an opportunity of seeing.

EXPLANATION of several Words used by the Natives
who catch Elephants.

Bundah, a middle-sized cord, six or eight cubits long, which is put round either the hind or fore legs of elephants, in order to secure them. From ten to twenty are employed.

Chilkáh is a very slight soft cord, which the hunters at first put around the hind legs of a *Goondah* before they begin to tie him: this is not used for *Keddah* elephants.

Dáugbearee is generally a continuation of every second *Bundah* that is put on, a few turns of which are passed round where the folds of the *Bundahs* intersect each other, in order to fasten and keep them firm. When the *Bundah* is not long enough, another cord is made use of.

Dooblah is that rope which is made fast on one side to the aftermost *Pharah*, then carried under the tail,
and

and fastened to both the *Pharahs* on the opposite side, so as to answer the purpose of a crupper, and to keep the *Pharahs* in their places.

Dool is a large cable, about sixty cubits long, with a running noose. Two of them are put round the neck of the elephant, and fastened to the foremost *Pharah*, or girth, one on each side, in such a manner as to prevent the nooses from being drawn too tight, or coming too far forward, and this is effectually done by the *Dooblah*; for whenever the elephant draws back, the *Dools* pull the crupper forward, which must gall him very much, and prevent him from using all the force he might otherwise exert in order to free himself.

Phand is a cable nearly the same size as the *Dool*, the noose of which is put round each leg of the *Goon-dahs*, and then it is tied to trees or stakes. The *Phands* used for the *Keddah* elephants are only about thirty cubits long.

Pharah, a rope that is put round the body of an elephant, like a girth, and to which the *Dooblah* and *Dools* are connected.

Tooman is the rope that is passed round the buttocks of an elephant, and prevents his stepping out freely; it is fastened to the girth and crupper, that it may not slip down.

Tipura,* March 29th, 1790.

* The ancient name of the province was *Tripura*, or *With Three Towns*, which has been corrupted into *Tipra*, or *Tipara*.

THE PLAN OF A COMMONPLACE-BOOK.

By J. H. HARRINGTON, Esq.

MR. LOCKE esteemed his method of a Commonplace-Book “so mean a thing, as not to deserve publishing in an age full of useful inventions,” but was induced to make it public at the request of a friend. This, perhaps, should have deterred me from offering a paper of the same denomination to a society instituted for inquiring into the more essential parts of literature; yet, since Mr. LOCKE bears testimony to the utility of his method, after five-and-twenty years experience, and since whatever may tend to assist the acquisition of knowledge, cannot, I conceive, be deemed undeserving of attention, I venture to submit the plan of a Commonplace-Book, which has occurred to me, founded on Mr. LOCKE’s; but calculated, I think, to obviate an inconvenience to which his is subject.

On considering the method described and recommended by Mr. LOCKE, it appeared to me, that the number of words having the same initial letters and following vowels, might frequently make it tedious to find a particular head, if noted in the Index by a numerical reference to the page only; and that the same cause might render it difficult to ascertain whether any particular head had been entered. For instance; *balm, bark, bard, bat, baron*, having, with
numerous

numerous other words; the same initial letter and succeeding vowel, several references to the pages pointed out by Mr. LOCKE's numerical index might be necessary, before any of them, in particular, could be found; or before it could be ascertained, whether any one of them had been previously entered in the book. An index, of which the following is a specimen, would, it is presumed, remedy these apparent disadvantages. How far it is free from others, will be known from experience.

A short explanation of the method adopted for this book will be sufficient. One-and-twenty pages, divided each into five columns, and subdivided in the several columns for the number of the folios, the letters of the alphabet written at the head of each page, and the five vowels inserted in the columns under each letter, will form a sufficient Index, provided the letters, J, Q, V, X, and Z, instead of having distinct pages appropriated to them, be written in the same pages with I, P, U, W, and Y, which they may be without inconvenience.

The *Index*, thus prepared, is ready to receive the heads of whatever subjects may be entered in the book, under their corresponding initial letters and following vowels, or under their initial letters and similar vowels, when the head is a monosyllable, and begins with a vowel. It is hardly necessary to repeat Mr. LOCKE's remark, that "every head ought to be "some important and essential word or term." If a small margin be left in each folio of the book, and the indicative word or head be written on it, it will be conspicuous, although several heads should be included in the same folio; but, until it become necessary, from there being no remaining folios wholly blank, it is adviseable to appropriate a separate folio to each head, as, by this means, the several subjects entered are kept more distinct, and any additions
may

may be made to the same head, without the trouble of reference to other folios; for which purposes it is also advantageous to place the folio-numbers on the left pages only, leaving the right-hand pages for a continuation of the subjects entered on the left, or for remarks thereon, until it become necessary to appropriate them to new heads, in order to fill the book.

To these remarks, which may appear more than adequate to the occasion, it will be sufficient to add, that, if the heads in the Index swell, under any letter, beyond the dimensions of the single page assigned to them, (which, however, in a book of moderate size is not probable,) they may be continued on a second page, to be prepared for the same letter at the end of the original Index; for which purpose ten or twelve blank leaves may be left between the Index and the commencement of the book: and lastly, that if the entries in the book, under any head, fill more than the two pages first appropriated to it, the same head may be continued in any subsequent blank folio, by obvious notes of reference at the foot of the former, and top of the latter, without any new entry in the Index, which would then be unnecessarily filled.

The *Asiatick Society* was instituted for enquiring into the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia; and the humble plan of a Commonplace-Book cannot claim admission among any one of these objects: it may, however, be considered as connected with all, since it may assist enquiries concerning the whole of them. If it be asked, whether such a plan be within the local limits of this Society, it may be answered, that it is in its nature universal: but if any particular plan be designed in Asia, such plan may, with propriety, be tendered to the *Asiatick Society*, for the benefit either of publication in their Transactions,

tions, if deemed worthy of it; or of suppression, for the author's sake, if deemed useless. A similar Index, with thirty pages, and ten columns, according to the number of the *Nágarí* consonants and vowels, which are mostly in use, would suit a Commonplace-Book intended to comprise the whole extent of Asiatick Literature.

Each of the figures, A, B, C, must be considered as representing a large folio page; and it seemed unnecessary to exhibit the specimen on a more extensive scale. The numbers of the *folios* are supposed to be those of the Commonplace-Book. The names *Arabia*, *Bahmen*, *Cámpilla*, and the rest, are given by way of example, but were not set down with any particular selection.

A.

| a | fol. | e | fol. | i | fol. | o | fol. | u | fol. |
|----------------|------|-----------------|------|----------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|
| <i>Arabia.</i> | 256 | <i>Ahremem.</i> | 256 | <i>Ahilya.</i> | 255 | <i>Afoca.</i> | 254 | <i>Aguru.</i> | 256 |

B.

| a | fol. | e | fol. | i | fol. | o | fol. | u | fol. |
|----------------|------|--------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|-------------------|------|
| <i>Bahmen.</i> | 255 | <i>Beli.</i> | 255 | <i>Bilua.</i> | 256 | <i>Borax.</i> | 255 | <i>Bhuchampac</i> | 254 |

C.

| a | fol. | e | fol. | i | fol. | o | fol. | u | fol. |
|------------------|------|----------------|------|-----------------|------|--------------------|------|---------------|------|
| <i>Campilla.</i> | 255 | <i>Cesari.</i> | 255 | <i>Crisina.</i> | 254 | <i>Chorapushpi</i> | 255 | <i>Cusha.</i> | 255 |

ASO'CA. This is the true name of a charming tree, inaccurately named *Aśjógam* in the *Hort. Malab.* vol. 5. tab. 59. It is a plant of the *eighth* class, and *first* order, bearing flowers of exquisite beauty; and its fruit, which VAN RHEEDE had not seen, is a *legume*, compressed, incurved, long, pointed, with six, seven, or eight seeds. It will be described very fully in a paper intended for the Society. The *Bráhmens*, who adore beautiful objects, have consecrated the lovely *Aśóca*: they plant it near the temples of SIVA; and frequently mention a grove of it, in which RA'VAN confined the unfortunate SI'TA'. The *eighth* day from the new moon of *Chaitra* inclusive is called *Aśócáshtamí*.

CRISHNA. Properly *black* or *dark blue*, an epithet of the *Hindu* God, whose youthful exploits resemble those of *Apollo Nomius*: he was particularly worshipped by the *Sérasúna*, or people of *Mat'hura*; and ARRIAN says, that the *Suraceni* adored *Hercules*; but the deity whom he means, was *Hercules Múfagetes*, or *Gópinát'ha*, who was the Patron of Science, according to Mr. BRYANT, or the 'God of Eloquence, with the Muses in his train.' See *Anal. Anc. Mythol.* vol. 2. p. 74. The *Gópyah* were the Patronesses of Music and Poetry.

BHU'CHAMPAC: So the *Hindus* call a beautiful plant, described by RHEEDE, and admitted by LINNÆUS, under the names of *Kæmpferia rotunda*. The *Indian* appellation is very improper; as the flower has no resemblance to the *Champac*, except in the richness of its odour. *Bhú* means *ground*, from which the blossoms rise with a short scape, and scarce live a whole day.

CĒSARI, a lion in *Sanſcrit*, ſo named from his mane ; *Cēſa* and *Cēſara* ſignifying *hair*. Etymologiſts will decide, whether *Cæſaries* and *Cæſar* had an affinity with thoſe *Indian* words.

AHILYA', the celebrated conſort of an old *Indian* ſage, named *Gótama* : hence it is the name of a rich *Mahráta* lady, who employs her wealth in works of devotion at *Benáres* and *Gayà*, as well as in her own country.

BORAX, a corruption of the *Arabic* word *búrak*, or *brilliant*. It is found in its native ſtate both in *Tibet*, according to *GIORGI*, and in *Népál*, according to Father *GIUSEPPE*.

CUSHA, pronounced more correctly *Cuſá* with a palatial *ſ* : a graſs held ſacred by the *Bráhmens* from time immemorial. It is the *Poa Cynofuroides* of Dr. *KOENIG*.

BELI, the *Belus*, probably, of the *Greeks* ; for though *bál* ſignify *lord* in moſt eaſtern dialects, yet in *Chaldaic*, according to *SELDEN*, it was written *Bel*, exactly as the name of the *Hindu* monarch is vulgarly pronounced.

CO'RAPUSHPI, or, *Thief-flowered* ; the corymbed *Scirpus* with awled ſpikes, ſo troubleſome in our *Indian* walks.

CAMPILLA, commonly called *Camalá-guri*, a plant uſed by dyers, of a new genus ; deſcribed by Dr. *ROXBURGH*.

BAHMEN, an old *Persian* month, and the genius preſiding over it : the name alſo of a celebrated king and hero.

BILVA, the *Cratæva Marmelos*, but certainly misplaced in LINNÆUS. Its fruit has lately been found very beneficial in diarrhœas.

AHREMEN: So HAFIZ writes the vowels in this name of the *evil genius*; but in some *Arabian* books it is written *Ahermen*.

ARABIA. In this celebrated Peninsula the richest and most beautiful of languages was brought to perfection. The *Arabic* dictionary by GOLIUS is the most elegant, the most convenient, and, in one word, the *best*, that was ever compiled in any language.

AGURU, the true name of the fragrant aloe-wood. The tree grows in *Silhet*, but has not blossomed in gardens near *Cabcutta*.

XII.

THE LUNAR YEAR

OF THE

HINDUS,

BY THE PRESIDENT.

HAVING lately met by accident with a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated *Raghunandana*, containing a full account of all the rites and ceremonies in the lunar year, I twice perused it with eagerness, and present the Society with a correct outline of it, in the form of a calendar, illustrated with short notes. The many passages quoted in it from the *Védas*, the *Purānas*, the *Sāstras* of law and astronomy, the *Calpa*, or sacred ritual, and other works of immemorial antiquity and reputed holiness, would be thought highly interesting by such as take pleasure in researches concerning the *Hindus*; but a translation of them all would fill a considerable volume, and such only are exhibited as appeared most distinguished for elegance or novelty. The lunar year of three hundred and sixty days, is apparently more ancient in *India* than the solar, and began, as we may infer from a verse in the *Mātsya*, with the month *Aswin*, so called because the moon was at the full when that name was imposed, in the first lunar station of the *Hindu* ecliptic, the origin of which, being diametrically opposite to the bright star *Chitrā*, may be ascertained in our sphere with exactness; but, although most of the Indian fasts

and festivals be regulated by the days of the moon, yet the most solemn and remarkable of them have a manifest reference to the supposed motions of the sun; the *Durgótsava* and *Hólíca* relating as clearly to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, as the sleep and rise of *VISHNU* relate to the solstices. The *sancrántis*, or days which the sun enters a new sign, especially those of *Tulá* and *Meshá*, are great festivals of the solar year, which anciently began with *Pausha* near the winter solstice, whence the month *Margásirsha* has the name of *A'grahayána*, or *the year is next before*. The twelve months, now denominated from as many stations of the moon, seem to have been formerly peculiar to the lunar year; for the old solar months, beginning with *Chaitra*, have the following very different names in a curious text of the *Véda*, or the order of the six *Indian* seasons, *Madhu*, *Mádhava*, *Sucra*, *Suchi*, *Nabhas*, *Nabhaysa*, *I'sa*, *Urja*, *Sahas*, *Sahasya*, *Tapas*, *Tapasya*. It is necessary to premise, that the *muc'hya chándra*, or primary lunar month, ends with the conjunction, and the *gauna chándra*, or secondary, with the opposition. Both modes of reckoning are authorized by the several *Puránas*. But, although the astronomers of *Cáfi* have adopted the *gauna* month, and place in *Bhadra* the birth-day of their pastoral God, the *muc'hya* is here preferred, because it is generally used in this province, and especially at the ancient seminary of *Bráhmens* at *Máyápur*, now called *Navadwipa*, because a new island has been formed by the *Ganges* on the site of the old academy. The *Hindus* define a *tit'hi*, or lunar day, to be the time in which the moon passes through twelve degrees of her path; and to each *pacsha*, or half month, they allot fifteen *tit'his*, though they divide the moon's orb into sixteen phases, named *cálas*, one of which they suppose constant, and compare to the string of a necklace or chaplet, round which are placed moveable gems and flowers. The *Mahácalá* is the day of the conjunction, called *Amá*, or *Amávásyá*, and defined by *Gobhilla*, the day of the nearest approach to the sun; on

which obsequies are performed to the manes of the *Pitr̥s*, or certain progenitors of the human race, to whom the *darker* fortnight is peculiarly sacred. Many subtle points are discussed by my author concerning the *junction* of two, or even three lunar days, in forming one fast or festival: but such a detail can be useful only to the *Bráhmens*, who could not guide their flocks, as the *Raja* of *Crishnanagar* assures me, without the assistance of *Raghunandan*. So fond are the *Hindus* of mythological personifications, that they represent each of the thirty *tit'his* as a beautiful nymph; and the *Gáyatrítantra*, of which a *Sannyási* made me a present, though he considered it as the holiest book after the *Véda*, contains flowery descriptions of each nymph, much resembling the delineations of the thirty *Ráginis* in the treatises on *Indian* music.

In what manner the *Hindus* contrive so far to reconcile the lunar and solar years, as to make them proceed concurrently in their ephemerides, might easily have been shown, by exhibiting a version of the *Nadíyu*, or *Varánes* almanack; but their modes of intercalation form no part of my present subject, and would injure the simplicity of my work, without throwing any light on the religion of the *Hindus*. The following Tables have been very diligently compared by myself with two *Sanscrit* almanacks, with a superficial chapter in the work of *Abu'lfazl*, and with a list of *Indian* holidays published at *Calcutta*; in which there are nine or ten fasts called *Jayantis*, distinguished chiefly by the titles of the *Avatáras*, and twelve or thirteen days marked as the beginnings of as many *Calpas*, or very long periods, an hundred of which constitute *BRÁHMA*'s age; but having found no authority for those holidays, I have omitted them. Some festivals, however, or fasts, which are passed over in silence by *Raghunandan*, are here printed in *Italic* letters; because they may be mentioned in other books, and kept holy in other provinces, or by particular sects. I cannot

S 2

refrain

refrain from adding, that *human sacrifices* were anciently made on the *Mahanavamí*; and it is declared in the *Bhawishya Purána*, that the head of a slaughtered man gives DURGÁ a thousand times more satisfaction than that of a buffalo :

*Náreṇa śirasà víra pújità vidhiwannrīpa,
trīptà bhawéd bhrīṣam Durgà verṣhani lacṣhamévacha.*

But in the *Bráhma* every *neramédha*, or sacrifice of a man, is expressly forbidden; and in the fifth book of the *Bhágawat* are the following emphatical words : “ *Yétwiha*
“ *vai puruṣháh puruṣhamédhéna yajanté, yáscha striyó nrī-*
“ *pasún c’hádanti, tánścha táscha tē pasava iha nihatà ya-*
“ *ma śádanè yátayantó, racśhógana saunicá iva sudhittinā*
“ *‘vadáyafrīc pivanti.*” That is, “ Whatever men in
“ this world sacrifice human victims, and whatever wo-
“ men eat the flesh of male cattle, those men and those
“ women shall the animals here slain torment in the
“ mansion of *Yama*, and, like slaughtering giants, hav-
“ ing cleaved their limbs with axes, shall quaff their
“ blood.” It may seem strange that a *human sacrifice*
by a man, should be no greater crime than eating the
flesh of a male beast by a woman; but it is held a mortal offence to kill any creature, except for sacrifice; and none but males must ever be sacrificed; nor must women, except after the performance of a *fráddha* by their husbands, taste the flesh even of victims. Many strange ceremonies at the *Durgótsava* still subsist among the *Hindus*, both male and female, an account of which might elucidate some very obscure parts of the *Mosaic* law; but this is not a place for such disquisitions. The ceremony of *swinging* with iron hooks through the muscles, on the day of the *Cherec*, was introduced, as I am credibly informed, in modern times, by a superstitious Prince, named *Vána*, who was a *Saiva* of the most austere sect: but the custom is bitterly censured by learned *Hindus*, and the day is, therefore, omitted in the following abridgment of the *Tit’hi tatwa*.

A'SWINA.

- I. Navarātrīcam. *a.*
- II.
- III. Acshayá. *b.*
- IV.
- V. Sáyam-adhivása. *c.*
- VI. Shaṣṭyádicalpa bódhanam. *d.*
- VII. Patricá-pravéśa. *e.*
- VIII. Maháshṭámi sandhipújā.
- IX. Mahánavamī. *f.* Manwantará. *g.*
- X. Vijayá. *h.*
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV. A'swiní. Cójágara. *i.*

a. By some the first *nine nights* are allotted to the decoration of DURGA', with ceremonies peculiar to each.

Bhawishnyóttra.

b. When certain days of the moon fall on certain days of the week, they are called *acsháyás*, or *unperishable*.

c. The evening preparation for her dress.

d. On

d. On this day she is commonly awakened, and her festival begins.

Dévi-purána.

e. She is invited to a bower of *leaves* from *nine* plants, of which the *Bilva* is the chief.

f. The last of the three great days. “The sacrificed beasts must be killed at one blow, with a broad sword or a sharp axe.”

Cálicá-purána.

g. The *fourteen* days, named *Manwantarás*, are supposed to be the first of as many very long periods, each of which was the reign of a *Menu*: they are all placed according to the *Bhawishya* and *Mátsya*.

h. The Goddesses dismissed with reverence, and her image cast into the river, but without *Mantras*.

Baudháya.

i. On this full moon the fiend *NICUMBHA* led his army against *DURGA'*; and *LACSHMI* descended, promising wealth to those *who were awake*: hence the night is passed playing at ancient chess. *CUVE'RA* also and *INDRA* are worshipped.

Lainga and *Bráhma.*

A'SWINA;

Or, *Cártica*.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII. *Dagdhá. a.*
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. *Bhútachaturdasì Yamaterpanam. b.*
- XV. *Lacshmípujá dípánwitá. c. Syámápujá. Ul-cádánam. d.*

a. The days called *dagdhá*, or *burnt*, are variable, and depend on some inauspicious conjunctions.

Vidyá-sirómani.

b. Bathing, and libations to *Yama*, regent of the south, or the lower world, and judge of departed spirits.

Lainga.

c. A fast

c. A fast all day, and a great festival at night, in honour of LACSHMI, with illuminations on trees and houses. Invocations are made at the same time to CUVE'RA.

Rudra-dhera.

“ On this night, when the Gods, having been delivered by CE'SAVA, were flumbering on the rocks that bounded the sea of milk, LACSHMI, no longer fearing the *Daityas*, slept apart on a lotos.”

Bráhma.

d. Flowers are also offered on this day to *Syámà*, or the Black, an epithet of BHAVA'NI, who appears in the *Calijug*, as a damsel twelve years old.

Vārānasí Panjica.

Torches and flaming brands are kindled and consecrated, to burn the bodies of kinsmen who may be dead in battle or in a foreign country, and to light them through the shades of death to the mansion of *Yama*.

These rites bear a striking resemblance to those of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*.

CA'RTICA.

CA'RTICA.

- I. Dyúta pratipat. *a.* Belipújá. *b.*
- II. Bhrátri dwitíyá. *c.*
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII. Acshayá.
- VIII. Góshth'háshthamí. *d.*
- IX. Durgá navamí. *e.* Yugádáy. *f.*
- X.
- XI. Utt'hánaicádasí. *g.* *Baca panchacam.*
- XII. Manwantará.
- XIII.
- XIV. *Sríherérutt'hánam.*
- XV. Cárticá. Manwantará. Dánamávasyacam. *h.*

a. MAHA'DE'VA was beaten on this day at a game of chance by PA'RVATI'; hence games of chance are allowed in the morning; and the winner expects a fortunate year.

Bráhma.

b. A nightly festival, with illuminations and offerings of flowers, in honour of the ancient king *Beli*.

Vámena.

c. YAMA, child of the Sun, was entertained on this lunar day by the river-goddes YAMUNA', his younger sister; hence the day is sacred to them both; and

and sisters give entertainments to their brothers, who make presents in return.

Lainga. Mahábhárata.

d. Cows are on this day to be fed, careased, and attended in their pastures; and the *Hindus* are to walk round them with ceremony, keeping them always to the right-hand.

Bhíma parácrama.

e. “To eat nothing but dry rice on this day of the moon for nine successive years, will secure the favour of DURGÁ.”

Cálicá-purána.

f. The first day of the *Trétá Yuga*.

Yaiṣṇava. Bháhma.

g. VISHNU rises on this day, and in some years on the *fourteenth*, from his slumber of four months. He is waked by this incantation: “The clouds are dispersed; the full moon will appear in perfect brightness; and I come, in hope of acquiring purity, to offer the fresh flowers of the season. Awake from thy long slumber, awake, O Lord of all worlds!”

Váráha. Mátsya.

The Lord of all worlds neither slumbers nor sleeps.

A strict fast is observed on the *eleventh*; and even the *Baca*, a water bird, abstains, it is said, from his usual food.

Vidyá śrómāni.

h. Gifts to *Bráhmens* are indispensably necessary on this day.

Rámáyana.

CÁRTICA.

CA'RTICA;

Or, Márgasírsha.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. Acshayá.

XV. Gósaahasrí. a.

a. Bathing in the *Gangá*, and other appointed ceremonies, on this day, will be equally rewarded with a gift of a thousand cows to the *Bráhmens*.

Vyása.

MA'RGASI'RSA.

MĀRGASÍRSHA.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI. Guha shashtí. *a.*
- VII. Mitra septamí. *b.* Navánnam.
- VIII. Navánnam.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII. Ac'handá-dwádasi. Navánnam.
- XIII.
- XIV. Páshána chaturdasi. *c.*
- XV. Márgasírshí. Navánnam:

a. Sacred to SCANDA, or CA'RTICE'YA, God of Arms.

Bhawishya.

b. In honour of the Sun. *Navánnam* signifies new grain, oblations of which are made on any of the days to which the word is annexed.

c. GAURI' to be worshipped at night, and cakes of rice to be eaten in the form of large pebbles.

Bhawishya.

MA'RGASI'RSA:

Or, *Pausha*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. Púpáshtacá. *a*.IX. *Dagdhá*.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV.

a. Cakes of rice are offered on this day, which is also called *Aindrì*, from *Indra*, to the manes of ancestors.

Góbhila.

PAUSHA.

PAUSHA.

I. The *morning* of the Gods, or beginning of the old *Hindu* year.

II. *Dagdhá.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI. *Manwantará.*

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. *Paushî.*

PAUSHA :

Or, *Mágha*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. *Mánfáshtacá. a.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. *Rátantí, or the waters speak. b.*

XV.

a. On this day, called also *Prájápalyá*, from *Prájápati*, or the Lord of Creatures, the flesh of male kids or wild deer is offered to the manes.

Góbhila.

“ On the eighth lunar day ICSHWA’CU spoke thus
 “ to his son VICUESHI: Go, robust youth, and having
 “ slain a male deer, bring his flesh for the funeral
 “ oblation.”

Herivaṇśa.

b. Bathing at the first appearance of *Aruna*, or the dawn.

Yama.

MA’CHA.

MAGHA.

I.

II.

III.

IV. Varadá chaturt'hí. Gaurípújá. *a.*V. Srí panchamì. *b.*

VI.

VII. Bháscara septamì. *c.* Mácarí Manwantará.VIII. Bíshmáshtamí. *d.*

IX. Mahánandá.

X.

XI. Bhaimí. *e.*XII. Shtátiladánam. *f.*

XIII.

XIV.

XV. Mághí. Yugádyà. *g.* Dánamávafyacam.

a. The worship of GAURÍ, surnamed *Varadâ*, or *granting boons*.

Bhawishyóttara.

b. On this lunar day SARASWATÍ, here called SRI, the Goddess of Arts and Eloquence, is worshipped with offerings of perfumes, flowers, and dressed rice. Even the implements of writing and books are treated with respect, and not used on this holiday.

Samvatsara pradípa.

A Meditation on SARASWATÍ.

‘ May the goddess of speech enable us to attain
‘ all possible felicity ; she who wears on her locks a
‘ young

‘ young moon, who shines with exquisite lustre, whose
 ‘ body bends with the weight of her full breasts, who
 ‘ sits reclined on a white lotos, and from the crimson
 ‘ lotos of her hands, pours radiance on the instruments
 ‘ of writing, and on the books produced by her
 ‘ favour !”

Sáradâ tîlaca.

c. A fast in honour of the Sun, as a form of
 VISHNU. *Várâha-purâna.*

It is called also *Mácarî*, from the constellation of
Macara, into which the Sun enters on the first of the
 solar *Mâgha*. *Critya calpa taru.*

This day has also the names of *Rat'hyá* and *Rat'ha*
septamî, because it was the beginning of *Manwan-*
tarâ when a new Sun ascended his car.

Nârasinha. Mâtsya.

d. A libation of holy water is offered by all the
 four classes, to the manes of the valiant and pious
 BHI'SHMA, son of GANGA'. *Bhawishyóttara.*

e. Ceremonies with *tila*, or *sesamum*, in honour of
 BHI'MA. *Vishnu-dherma.*

f. *Tila* offered in six different modes. *Mâtsya.*

g. The first day of the *Caliyuga*. *Bráhma.*

MA'GHA:

Or, *Phálguna*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. *Sácáshtacá. a.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. *Siva rátri. b.*

XV.

a. Green vegetables are offered on this day to the manes of ancestors: it is called also *Vaiswédévisi*, from the *Vaiswédéváh*, or certain paternal progenitors.

Góbhila.

b. A rigorous fast, with extraordinary ceremonies in honour of the *Sivalinga*, or Phullus.

Iśána samhitā.

P'HA'LGUNA.

P'HA'LGUNA.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV. *Dagdhá.*
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII. *Góvinda dwádasí. a.*
- XIII.
- XIV. *P'hálguní. Manwantará Dólayátrá. b.*

a. Bathing in the *Gangà* for the remission of mortal sins.

Pádma.

b. *Hólicà*, or *P'halgútsava*, vulgarly *Hulì*, the great festival on the approach of the vernal equinox.

Kings and people *sport* on this day in honour of *Góvinda*, who is carried in a *dólà*, or palanquin.

Bráhma. Scánda.

P'HA'LGUNA:

Or, *Chaitra*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. *Sítalá' pūjā*.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Mahāvārunī* ?

XIV.

XV. *Maunī. a. Acshayá. Manwantará.**a. Bathing in silence.**Vyása. Scánda.*

CHAITRA.

CHAITRA.

I. The *lunisolar* year of VICRAMA'DITYA begins.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV.

V.

VI. Scanda-shashtí. *a.*

VII.

VIII. Afócashtamí. *b.*

IX. Srírama-navamí. *c.*

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Madana-trayódaśí. *d.*

XIV. Madana-chaturdaśí. *e.*

XV. Chaitrí, Manwantará.

a. Sacred to CA'RTICE'YA, the God of War.

Dévî-purána.

b. Men and women of all classes ought to bathe in some holy stream, and, if possible, in the *Brahmaputra*: they should also drink water with buds of the *Afóca* floating on it. See p. 254. *Scánda.*

c. The birth-day of RA'MA CHANDRA. Ceremonies are to be performed with the mystical stone *Sálagráma* and leaves of *Tulasí*. *Agastya.*

d. A festival in honour of Cáma déva, God of Love. *Bhawishya.*

e. The same continued with music and bathing. *Saurágama. Dévala.*

The Hymn to CA'MA.

1. Hail, god of the flowery bow; hail, warrior with a fish on thy banner; hail, powerful divinity, who causeth the firmness of the sage to forsake him, and subdueth the guardian deities of eight regions!

2. O, CANDARPA, thou son of MA'DHAVA! O, MA'RA, thou foe of SAMBHARA! Glory be to thee, who lovest the goddesses RETI; to thee, by whom all worlds are subdued; to thee, who springest from the heart!

3. Glory be to MADANA, to CA'MA; to Him who is formed as the God of Gods; to Him, by whom BRAHMA', VISHNU, SIVA, INDRA, are filled with emotions of rapture!

4. May all my mental cares be removed, all my corporeal sufferings terminate! May the object of my soul be attained, and my felicity continue for ever!

Bhawishya purāna.

CHAITRA :

Or, *Vaisác'ha*.

- I.
- II. *Dagdhá*.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII. *Váruni. a.*
- XIV. *Angáraca dinam. b.*
- XV.

a. So called from *Váruna*, or the lunar constellation *Satabhishà*. When it falls on *Saturday*, it is named *Maháváruni*. Bathing by day and at night in the *Gangà*.

Scánda.

b. Sacred, I believe, to the planet *Mangala*. “ A
 “ branch of *Snuhì* (*Euphorbia*) in a whitened vessel,
 “ placed with a red flag on the house-top, on the
 “ fourteenth of the dark half *Chaitra*, drives away
 “ sin and disease.”

Rájamártanda.

[VAISA'C'HA.

VAISA'C'HA.

I.

II.

III. Acshayá tritíyá. *a.* Yugádyá. *b.* Paraśuráma.

IV.

V.

VI. Dagdhá.

VII. *Fahnu septamī.*

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. Pipítaca dwádasí. *c.*

XIII.

XIV. *Nrīṣiṅha chaturdasí.*

XV. Vaiśac'hí. Dānamāvasyacam.

a. Gifts on this day of water and grain, especially of *barley*, with oblations to CRISHNA of perfumes, and other religious rites, produce fruit *without end* in the next world.

Scānda. Bráhma. Bháwīshya.

b. The

b. The first day of the *Satya yuga*.

Bráhma. Vaishnava.

“ Water and oil of *tila*, offered on the *Yugádyás* to
“ the *Pitrīs*, or progenitors of mankind, are equal to
“ obsequies continued for a thousand years.”

Vishnu-purána.

This was also the day on which the river *Gangá* flowed from the foot of *VISHNU* down upon *Himálaya*, where she was received on the head of *SIVA*, and led afterwards to the ocean by king *Bhágírat’ha*: hence adoration is now paid to *Gangá*, *Himálaya*, *Sancara*, and his mountain *Cailasa*; nor must *Bhágírat’ha* be neglected.

Bráhma.

c. Libations to the manes.

Raghunandan.

Note on p. 275.

Dólayátra. b.

Compare this holiday, and the superstition on the fourth of *Bhádra*, with the two *Egyptian* festivals mentioned by *PLUTARCH*; one called the entrance of *OSIRIS* into the Moon, and the other, his confinement or enclosure in an *Ark*

The people usually claim *four* other days for their sports, and sprinkle one another with a *red powder*, in imitation of vernal flowers; it is commonly made with the mucilaginous root of a fragrant plant, coloured with *Bakkam*, or *Sappan-wood*, a little alum being added to extract and fix the redness.

VAISA'C'HA :

Or, *Jyaisht'ha*.

I.

II.

III.

IV. Dagdhá.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. Sávitri vratam. *a*.

XV.

a. A fast, with ceremonies by women, at the roots of the *Indian* fig-tree, to preserve them from widowhood.

Párasara. Rájamártanda.
Critya chintámeni.

JY AISHT'HA.

JYAISHT'HA.

- I.
- II.
- III. Rembhá tritíyá. *a.*
- IV.
- V.
- VI. Aranya shashtí. *b.*
- VII. *Acshayá.*
- VIII.
- IX.
- X. Daśahará. *c.*
- XI. Nirjalaicádaśí. *d.*
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. *Champaca chaturśí. e.*
- XV. Jyaisht'hí. Manwantará.

a. On this day of the moon the *Hindu* women imitate REMBHA', the sea-born goddess of beauty, who bathed on the same day, with particular ceremonies.

Bhawishhyóttara.

b. Women

b. Women walk in the *forests* with a fan in one hand, and eat certain vegetables, in hope of beautiful children.

Rājamārtanda.

See the account given by PLINY of the *Druidical* mistletoe, or *viscum*, which was to be gathered when the moon was *six* days old, as a preservative from *sterility*.

c. The word means *ten-removing*, or *removing ten sins*, an epithet of *Gangā*, who effaces *ten* sins, how heinous soever, committed in *ten* previous births by such as bathe in her waters.

Brahmā-vaiverta.

A Couplet by SANC'HA.

“ On the tenth of *Jyaisht'ha*, in the bright half of
 “ the month, on the day of *MANGALA*, Son of the
 “ Earth, when the moon was in *Hasta*, this daughter
 “ of *Jahnu* burst from the rocks, and flowed over the
 “ land inhabited by mortals: on this lunar day, there-
 “ fore, she washes off ten sins (thus have the venerable
 “ sages declared) and gives an hundred times more
 “ felicity than could be attained by a myriad of
 “ *Aśwamedhas*, or *sacrifices of a horse*.”

d. A fast so strict, that even *water* must *not* be tasted.

e. A festival, I suppose, with the flowers of the *Champaca*.

JYAISHT'HA :

JYAISHT'HA:

Or, *A'shárhá.*

I.

II.

III.

IV. *Dagdhá.*

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X. *Ambuváchí pradam. a.*

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Ambuváchí tyágah.*

XIV.

XV. *Gófahafrí.**a.* The Earth in her courses till the thirteenth.*Jyótiśh.*

A'SHA'D'HA.

A'SHA'D'HA.

I.

II. Rat'ha Yátra. *a.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X. Manwantará.

XI. Sayanaicádasí. Rátrau 'sayanam. *b.*

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. A'sharhi. Manwantará. Dánamávafyacam.

a. The image of CRISHNA, in the character of *Jagan-nái'ha*, or Lord of the Universe, is borne by day in a *car*, together with those of BALARÁ'MA and SUBHA-DRA': when the moon rises the feast begins, but must end as soon as it sets. *Scánda.*

b. The *night* of the Gods beginning with the summer solstice, VISHNU reposes *four* months on the serpent SE'SHA. *Bhagávata. Mát'sya. Váráha.*

A'SHA'D'HA:

A'SHA'D'HA :

Or, *Srávana*.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V. Manasápanchamì. *a*.
- VI. *Dagdhá*.
- VII.
- VIII. Manwantará.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV.

a. In honour of DE'VI, the goddess of Nature, surnamed *Manasá*, who, while VISHNU and all the Gods were sleeping, sat in the shape of a serpent on a branch of *Snuhì*, to preserve mankind from the venom of snakes.

Gáruda. Dévi-purána.

SRA'VANA.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V. Nágapanchamí. *a.*
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV. S'rávaní.

a. Sacred to the Demi-gods in the form of *Serpents*, who are enumerated in the *Padma* and *Gáruda puráñas*. Doors of houses are smeared with cow-dung and *Nimba*-leaves, as a preservative from poisonous reptiles.

Bhawishya.

Retnácara.

Both in the *Pádma* and *Gáruda*, we find the serpent *Cáliya*, whom CRISHNA flew in his childhood, among the deities worshipped on this day ; as the *Pythian* snake, according to CLEMENS, was adored with APOLLO at *Delphi*.

SRA'VANA :

SRA'VANA:

Or, *Bhádra*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII. *Dagdhá*.VIII. Crishnajanmáshdami. *a.* Jayantí. *b.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Yugádyá. *c.*

XIV.

XV. Amávásyá.

a. The birth-day of CRISHNA, son of MAHA'MA'YA, in the form of DE'VACI'.

Vasíshth'ha. Bhawishyóttará.

b. A strict fast from midnight. In the book, entitled *Dwaita nirnaya*, it is said, that the *Jayanti yóga* happens whenever the moon is in *Róhiní*, on the *eighth* of any dark fortnight: but VARA'HA MIHIRA confines it to the time when the Sun is in *Síṁha*. This fast, during which CHANDRA and RO'HINI' are worshipped, is also called *Róhiní vrata*.

Bráhmánda.

c. The first day of the *Dwápara Yuga*.

Bráhma.

BHA'DRA.

I.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV. *Heritálicà. Ganéśa chaturt'hí. Nashtachandra. a.*V. *Rĩshi panchamì.*

VI.

VII. *Acshayá lalità. b.*VIII. *Dúrváshtamì. c.*

IX.

X.

XI. *Párfwaperivertanam. d.*XII. *S'acrótt'hánam. e.*

XIII.

XIV. *Anantra vratam. f.*

XV. Bhádri.

a. CRISHNA, falsely accused in his childhood of having stolen a gem from PRASE'NA, who had been killed by a lion, hid himself in the moon; to see which on the two fourth days of Bhádra is inauspicious.

Bráhma. Bhójadéva.

b. A ceremony, called *Cuccutî vratam*, performed by women, in honour of SIVA and DURGA'.

Bhawishya.

c. "The family of him who performs holy rites on this lunar day, shall flourish and increase like the grass *dûrvà*." It is the *rayed Agrostis*.

Bhawishyôttara.

d. VISHNU sleeping, turns on his side.

Mâtsya.

Bhawishya.

e. Princes erect poles adorned with flowers, by way of standards, in honour of INDRA. The ceremonies are minutely described in the *Câlicâ-purâna*.

f. Sacred to VISHNU, with the title of *Ananta*, or Infinite.

Bhawishyôttara.

BHA'DRA :

Or, *A'swina*.

I. Aparapacsha. *Bráhma sávatrì.*

II.

III.

IV. Nashta-chandra.

V.

VI.

VII. Agastyódayah. *a.*

VIII.

IX. Bódhanam. *b.*

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Maghātrayôdasì fráddham.*

XIV.

XV. Mahálayá. *Amávásyá.*

a. Three days before the sun enters the constellation of *Canyā*, let the people who dwell in *Gaura* offer a dish of flowers to AGASTYA.

Bráhma-vaiverta.

Having

Having poured water into a sea-shell, let the votary fill it with white flowers, and unground rice: then, turning to the south, let him offer it with this incantation: ‘Hail, CUMBHAYO’NI, born in the fight of MITRA and VARUNA, bright as the blossom of the grass *cása*; thou, who sprangest from AGNI and MA’RUTA.’ *Cása* is the *spontaneous Saccharum*.

Nárasinha.

This is properly a festival of the solar year, in honour of the sage AGASTYA, supposed, after his death, to preside over the star *Canopus*.

b. Some begin on this day, and continue till the *ninth* of the new moon, the great festival called *Durgótśava*, in honour of DURGA’, the Goddess of Nature; who is now *awakened* with sports and music, as she was waked in the beginning by BRA’HMA during the night of the Gods.

Cálicá-purána.

Note on p. 265. Utt’hánaicádasí. g.

In one almanack I see on this day *Tulasì-viváha*, or the marriage of TULASI’; but have no other authority for mentioning such a festival. TULASI’ was a nymph beloved by CRISHNA, but transformed by him into the *Parnása*, or black *Ocimum*, which commonly bears her name.

General Note.

If the festivals of the old *Greeks, Romans, Persians, Egyptians, and Goths*, could be arranged with exactness in the same form with these *Indian Tables*, there would be found, I am persuaded, a striking resemblance among them; and an attentive comparison of them all, might throw great light on the religion, and, perhaps, on the history, of the primitive world.

the city of London, from the first settlement of the
English in the year 1533, to the present time. The
author has endeavored to give a full and accurate
account of the city, and its inhabitants, and of the
various events which have happened in it, from the
first settlement of the English in the year 1533, to
the present time. The author has also given a
description of the city, and its inhabitants, and of
the various events which have happened in it, from
the first settlement of the English in the year 1533,
to the present time.

The author has also given a description of the city,
and its inhabitants, and of the various events which
have happened in it, from the first settlement of the
English in the year 1533, to the present time.

The author has also given a description of the city,
and its inhabitants, and of the various events which
have happened in it, from the first settlement of the
English in the year 1533, to the present time.

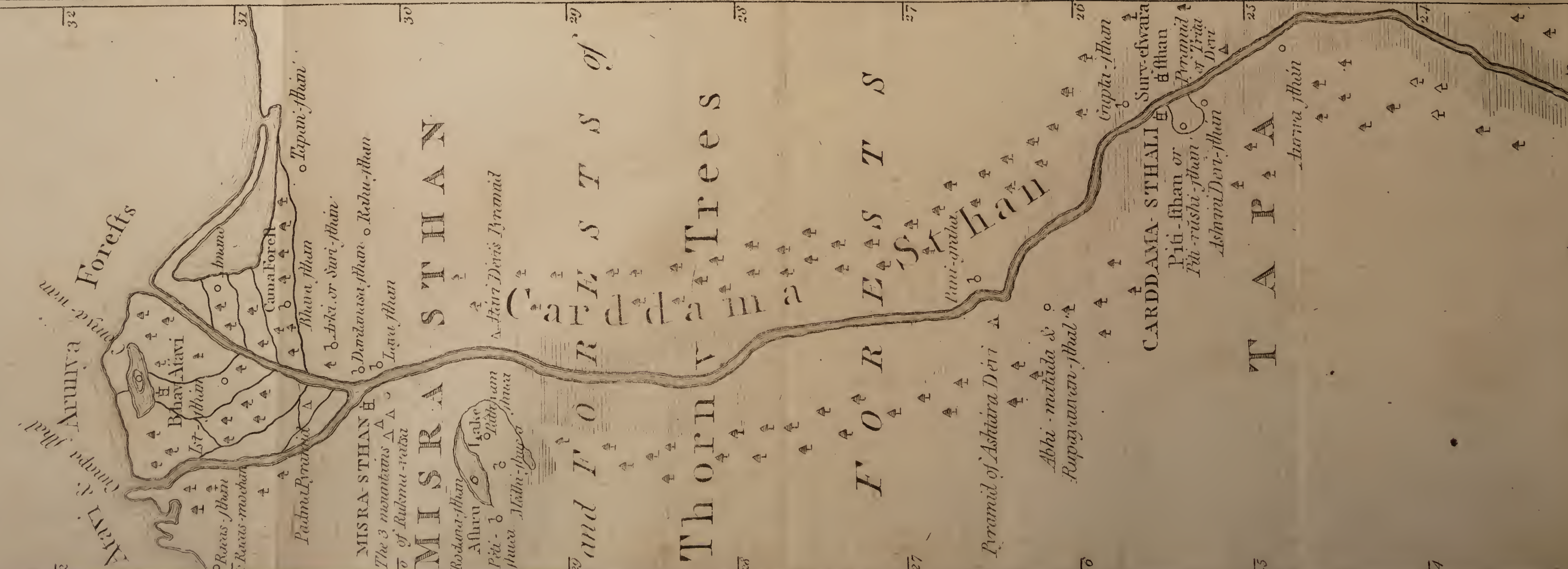
THE HISTORY OF

the city of London, from the first settlement of the
English in the year 1533, to the present time. The
author has endeavored to give a full and accurate
account of the city, and its inhabitants, and of the
various events which have happened in it, from the
first settlement of the English in the year 1533, to
the present time. The author has also given a
description of the city, and its inhabitants, and of
the various events which have happened in it, from
the first settlement of the English in the year 1533,
to the present time.

The author has also given a description of the city,
and its inhabitants, and of the various events which
have happened in it, from the first settlement of the
English in the year 1533, to the present time.

The author has also given a description of the city,
and its inhabitants, and of the various events which
have happened in it, from the first settlement of the
English in the year 1533, to the present time.

MISRA-STHAN OR GUPTA-STHAN.



The Course of the RIVER CALI OR GREAT KRISHNA through Cusha-Dwip without, and Shankha-Dwip proper, from the PURANS.



XIII.

ON EGYPT,

AND

*Other COUNTRIES adjacent to the CA'LI' RIVER,
or NILE of ETHIOPIA.*

FROM THE ANCIENT BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.

BY

Lieutenant FRANCIS WILFORD.

SECTION THE FIRST.

MY original design was to compose a dissertation entirely *geographical*, on *Egypt* and other Countries bordering upon the *Nile*; but as the *Hindus* have no regular work on the subject of geography, or none at least that ever came to my knowledge, I was under a necessity of extracting my materials from their historical poems, or, as they may be called more properly, their legendary tales; and in them I could not expect to meet with requisite data for ascertaining the relative situations of places: I was obliged, therefore, to study such parts of their ancient books as contained geographical information; and to follow the track, real or imaginary, of their deities and heroes; comparing all their legends with such accounts of holy places in the regions of the west, as have been preserved by the *Greek* mythologists; and endeavouring to prove the identity of places by the similarity of *names*, and of *remarkable circumstances*; a laborious though necessary operation, by which the progress of my work has been greatly retarded.

The

The mythology of the *Hindus* is often inconsistent and contradictory, and the same tale is related many different ways. Their physiology, astronomy, and history, are involved in allegories and enigmas, which cannot but seem extravagant and ridiculous: nor could any thing render them supportable, but a belief that most of them have a recondite meaning; though many of them had, perhaps, no firmer basis than the heated imagination of deluded fanatics, or of hypocrites interested in the worship of some particular deity. Should a key to their eighteen *Purānas* exist, it is more than probable that the wards of it would be too intricate, or too stiff with the rust of time, for any useful purpose; yet, as a near coincidence between *proper names* and *circumstances* could scarce have been accidental, some light might naturally be expected from the comparison which I resolved to make. It is true, that an accurate knowledge of the old northern and western mythology, of the *Coptick* and other dialects now used in countries adjacent to the *Nile*, of eastern languages, and, above all, of *Sanscrit*, may be thought essentially necessary for a work of this nature; and unfortunately I possess few of these advantages; yet it will not, I hope, be considered as presumptuous, if I present the *Asiatic Society* with the result of my inquiries, desiring them to believe, that when I seem to make any positive assertion, I only declare my own humble opinion, but never mean to write in a dogmatical style, or to intimate an idea, that my own conviction should preclude in any degree the full exercise of their judgment.

So striking, in my apprehension, is the similarity between several *Hindu* legends and numerous passages in Greek authors concerning the *Nile*, and the countries on its borders, that, in order to evince their identity, or at least their affinity, little more is requisite than barely to exhibit a comparative view of them. The *Hindus* have no ancient civil history, nor had the
Egyptians

Egyptians any work purely historical; but there is abundant reason to believe that the *Hindus* have preserved the religious fables of *Egypt*, though we cannot yet positively say by what means the *Bráhmens* acquired a knowledge of them. It appears, indeed, that a free communication formerly subsisted between *Egypt* and *India*, since *PTOLEMY* acknowledges himself indebted for much information to many learned *Indians* whom he had seen at *Alexandria*; and *LUCIAN* informs us, that pilgrims from *India* resorted to *Hierapolis* in *Syria*; which place is called in the *Puránas*, at least as it appears to me, *Mahábhágá*, or the station of the Goddess *Dévì*, with that epithet. Even to this day the *Hindus* occasionally visit, as I am assured, the two *Jwálá-muc'his*, or Springs of Naphtha, in *Cúsha-dwípa within*; the first of which, dedicated to the same goddess, with the epithet *Anáyásá*, is not far from the *Tigris*; and *STRABO* mentions a temple, on that very spot, inscribed to the goddess *Anaías*.

The second, or great *jwálá-muc'hì*, or spring with a flaming mouth, is near *Báku*; from which place, I am told, some *Hindus* have attempted to visit the *Sacred Islands* in the west; an account of which, from the *Puránas*, will (if the publick approve this essay) be the subject of a future work. A *Yógì*, now living, is said to have advanced, with his train of pilgrims, as far as *Moscow*; but, though he was not ill used by the *Russians*, they flocked in such crowds to see him, that he was often obliged to interrupt his devotions, in order to satisfy their curiosity; he therefore chose to return; and, indeed, he would probably have been exposed to similar inconvenience in the *Sacred Isles*, without excepting *Breta-st'hán*, or the place of religious duty. This western pilgrimage may account for a fact mentioned, I think, by *CORNELIUS NEPOS*, (but, as printed books are scarce in this country, I speak only from recollection,) that certain *Indi*, or *Hindus*, were shipwrecked

wrecked on the shores of the *Baltick*. Many *Bráhmens*, indeed, assert, that a great intercourse anciently subsisted between *India* and countries in the west; and, as far as I have examined their sacred books, to which they appeal as their evidence, I strongly incline to believe their assertion.

The *Sanscrit* books are, both in size and number, very considerable; and, as the legends relating to *Egypt* lie dispersed in them, without order or connexion, I have spared neither labour nor expense to collect them; but, though I have in that way done much, yet much remains to be done, and must be left, I fear, to others, who can better afford to make a collection so voluminous and expensive. I had the happiness to be stationed at *Benares*, the centre of *Hindu* learning; and, though my laborious duties left me very little time for literary pursuits, yet my appointment supplied me with means to defray the necessary charges, which I could not otherwise have afforded. To the friendship of Mr. DUNCAN I am deeply indebted: his encouragement and support had a great effect on the *Bráhmens*; nor should I, without his assistance, have met with that success which has rewarded my labour. It will appear, in the course of my essay, that I have derived infinite advantage from the Travels of Mr. BRUCE, to which I so frequently refer, that it was hardly possible to cite them constantly; and I make this general acknowledgment of my obligation to him: even the outline of the map prefixed to this dissertation, is borrowed from his elaborate Chart. Those who may follow me in this path, will add considerably, no doubt, to the materials which I have amassed, and may possibly correct some errors into which I may have fallen: happy shall I be to have led the way to discoveries, from which very important conclusions may be deduced.

The *Hindus*, I believe, have no work professedly written on *popular* geography, that is, on the face of this globe, according to the system of their astronomers. They have large charts of the universe, according to the *Pauránicas*, with explanatory notes, and, perhaps, with treatises to elucidate their fables; and some of the *Puránas* contain lists of countries, rivers and mountains, with a general division of the known world, which are also to be found in a few of their astronomical books. The *Bauddhas*, or followers of JINA, have a small tract on geography, entitled *Trilóca Derpan*, or, *The Mirror of Three Worlds*, which Mr. BURROW was so kind as to lend me: it is a most extravagant composition; and such is the antipathy of the *Bráhmens* to the *Jainas*, that no explanation of it can be expected from them; but, should I have leisure and opportunity to examine it, the task may be attended with some advantage; though the proper names are in general changed, and accommodated to the heterodox system.

According to the orthodox *Hindus*, the globe is divided into two hemispheres, both called *Méru*; but the superior hemisphere is distinguished by the name of *Suméru*, which implies beauty and excellence, in opposition to the lower hemisphere, or *Cuméru*, which signifies the reverse. By *Méru*, without any adjunct, they generally mean the higher or *northern* hemisphere, which they describe, with a profusion of poetical imagery, as the seat of delights; while they represent *Cuméru* as the dreary habitation of demons, in some parts intensely cold, and in others so hot that the waters are continually boiling. In strict propriety, *Méru* denotes the pole and the polar regions; but it is the celestial north pole round which they place the gardens and metropolis of INDRA; while YAMA holds his court in the opposite polar circle, or the station of *Afuras*, who warred with the *Suras*, or Gods of the Firmament.

There

There is great reason to believe that the old inhabitants of the southern hemisphere, among whom were the *Ethiops* and *Egyptians*, entertained a very different opinion of their own climate, and of course represented the summit of the northern hemisphere as a region of horrors and misery. We find, accordingly, that the *Greeks*, who had imported most of their notions from *Egypt*, placed their hell under the north pole, and confined CRONOS to a cave in the frozen circle. In the *Puránas* we meet with strong indications of a *terrestrial paradise*, different from that of the general *Hindu* system, in the southern parts of *Africa*; and this may be connected with the opinion adopted by the *Egyptians*, who maintained it against the *Scythians* with great warmth, (for the ancient inhabitants of the two hemispheres were perpetually wrangling on their comparative antiquity,) that the *Ethiopians* were the oldest nation on earth.

Several divisions of the whole continent were made by different persons at different times; and the modern *Bráhmens* have jumbled them all together. The most ancient of them is mentioned in the *Puránas*, entitled *Váyu* and *Brahmánda*; where that continent is divided into seven *dwípas*, or countries with *water on two sides*; so that, like *jazírah* in *Arabick*, they may signify either *islands* or *peninsulas*. They are said to be wholly surrounded by a vast ocean, beyond which lie the region and mountains of *Atala*; whence most probably the *Greeks* derived their notion of the celebrated *Atlantis*, which, as it could not be found after having once been discovered, they conceived to have been destroyed by some shock of nature; an opinion formed in the true *Hindu* spirit; for the *Bráhmens* would rather suppose the whole economy of the universe disturbed, than question a single fact related in their books of authority. The names of those islands, or peninsulas, are *Jambu*, *Anga*, *Yama*, *Yamala* or *Malaya*, *Sanc'ha*, *Cusha*, and *Varáha*.

In the centre is JAMBU, or the inland part of *Asia*: to the east of it are *Anga*, *Yama*, and *Yamala*, reckoned from north to south; to the west, *Sanc'ha*, *Cusha*, and *Varáha*, reckoned from south to north. *Yama* and *Cusha* are said to be due east and west, in respect of *India*; and this is indubitably proved by particular circumstances.

Sanc'ha dwíp is placed on the south-west, supposed to be connected with *Yamala*, and with it to embrace an immense inland sea. Between them the *Hindus* place *Lancà*, which they conceive extended to a considerable distance, as far as the equator; so that *Sanc'ha* must be part of *Africa*; and *Yamala*, or *Malaya*, the peninsula of *Malacca*, with the countries adjacent. This notion of a vast inland sea, PTOLEMY seems to have borrowed from the *Hindus* whom he saw at *Alexandria*; for before his time there was no such idea among the *Greeks*. He calls it *Hippados*; a word which seems derived from *Abdhi*, a general name for the sea in the language of the *Bráhmens*. We may collect, from a variety of circumstances, that *Cusha dwíp* extends from the shore of the *Mediterranean*, and the mouths of the *Nile*, to *Serhind*, on the borders of *India*.

In a subsequent division of the globe, intended to specify some distant countries with more particular exactness, six *dwípas* are added; *Placsha*, *Sálmali*, *Crauncha*, *Sáca*, *Pushcara*, and a second *Cusha*, called *Cusha dwípa without*, in opposition to the former, which is said to be *within*; a distinction used by the *Bráhmens*, and countenanced in the *Puránas*, though not positively expressed in them. The six new *dwípas* are supposed to be contained within those before mentioned; and the *Puránas* differ widely in their accounts of them, while the geography of the former division is uniform.

Six of the ancient divisions are by some called *upa-dwīpas*, because they are joined to the large *dwīpa*, named *Jambu*; and their names are usually omitted in the new enumeration. Thus *Cusha-dwīp within* is included in *Jambu-dwīp*, and comprises three out of seven *c'handas*, or sections of *Bhārataversha*. Another geographical arrangement is alluded to by the poet CA'LIDA's, who says, that "RAGHU erected pillars of conquest in each of the eighteen *dwīpas*," meaning, say the *Pandits*, seven principal, and eleven subordinate, isles or peninsulas. *Upa*, the same word originally with *hypo* and *sub*, always implies *inferiority*; as *upa-vēda*, a work derived from the *Vēda* itself; *upapātaca*, a crime in a lower degree; *upadherma*, an inferior duty: but great confusion has arisen from an improper use of the words *upadwīpa* and *dwīpa*.

Cusha-dwīpa without is *Abyssinia* and *Ethiopa*; and the *Brāhmens* account plausibly enough for its name, by asserting, that the descendants of CUSHA, being obliged to leave their native country, from them called *Cusha-dwīpa within*, migrated into *Sanc'ha'-dwīp*, and gave to their new settlement the name of their ancestor; for, though it be commonly said, that the *dwīpa* was denominated from the grass *Cusha*, of the genus named *Poa* by LINNÆUS, yet it is acknowledged, that the grass itself derived both its appellation and sanctity from CUSHA, the progenitor of a great *Indian* family. Some say that it grew on the *valmīca*, or hill formed by *termites*, or white ants, round the body of CUSHA himself; or of CAUSHICA, his son, who was performing his *tapasyā*, or act of austere devotion: but the story of the ant-hill is by others told of the first *Hindu* poet, thence named VA'LMICA.

The countries which I am going to describe lie in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, according to the ancient division; but, according to the new, partly in *Cussha-dwíp without*, and partly in *Sanc'ha-dwíp proper*: and they are sometimes named *Cálítata*, or *banks of the Cálí*, because they are situated on both sides of that river, or the *Nile of Ethiopia*. By *Cálítata* we are to understand *Ethiopia*, *Nubia*, and *Egypt*. It is even to this day called by the *Bráhmens* the country of *Dévatás*; and the *Greek* mythologist asserted, that the Gods were born on the banks of the *Nile*. That celebrated and holy river takes its rise from the *Lake of the Gods*, thence named *Amara*, or *Déva*, *Saróvera*, in the region of *S'HARMA*, or *Sharma-st'hán*, between the mountains of *Ajágara* and *Sítánta*, which seem part of *Sóma-giri*, or the Mountains of the Moon, the country round the lake being called *Chándri-st'hán*, or *Moonland*: thence the *Cálí* flows into the marshes of the *Padma-van*, and through the *Nishada* mountains, into the land of *Barbara*, whence it passes through the mountains of *Hémacúta*, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp proper*; there entering the forests of *Tapas*, or *Thebais*, it runs into *Cantaca-déśa*, or *Mishra-st'han*, and through the woods emphatically named *Arahya* and *Atavi*, into *Sanc'hábdhi*, or our *Mediterranean*. From the country of *Pushpaverśha* it receives the *Nandá*, or *Nile of Abyssinia*; the *Ast'hi-matì*, or smaller *Crishná*, which is the *Tacazzè*, or little *Abay*; and the *Sanc'hanágá*, or *Mareb*. The principal tribes or nations who lived on its banks, were, besides the savage *Pulindas*, 1. the *S'hármicas*, or *S'hámicas*; 2. the Shepherds, called *Pallì*; 3. the *Sanc'háyanas*, or *Troglodytes*, named also *Sanc'háyani*; 4. the *Cutíla-céśas*, or *Cutlálacas*; 5. the *S'yáma-muc'has*; 6. the *Dánavas*; and 7. the *Yavanas*. We find in the same region a country denominated *Strí-rájya*, because it was governed by none but Queens.

The river *Cálí* took its name from the goddess *MAHA'-CA'LI*, supposed to have made her first appearance on its banks in the character of *Rájarájéśwarì*, called also

also ISA'NI and ISI; and, in the character of SATI, she was transformed into the river itself. The word *Cála* signifies *black*; and, from the root *cal*, it means also *devouring*, whence it is applied to *Time*; and, from both senses in the feminine, to the Goddess in her *destructive* capacity; an interpretation adopted, as we shall see hereafter, in the *Purānas*. In her character of MAHA'CA'LI she has many other epithets, all implying different shades of *black* or *dark azure*; and in the *Cálicā-purān*, they are all ascribed to the river. They are *Cālī* or *Cálá*, *Nílá*, *Afità*, *S'hyámà* or *S'hyámala*, *Méchacà*, *Anjanābhà*, *Crīshnà*. The same river is also called *Náhusi*, from the celebrated warrior and conqueror, usually entitled DEVA'-NAHUSHA, and, in the spoken dialects, DEO-NAUSH. He is the DIONYSIUS, I believe, of the ancient *Europeans*.

By the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Hebrews*, the *Nile* (which is clearly a *Sansecrit* word) was known also by the following names: *Melas*, *Melo*, *Ægyptos*, *Sikhor* or *Sihor*, *Nous* or *Nús*, *Aëtos*, *Siris*, *Oceanus*, *Triton*, *Potamos*. The word *Nous* (*a*) is manifestly corrupted from *Nahush*, or NAUSH; *Aëtos*, from king I'T or *Ait*, an *avāntara*, or inferior incarnation, of MAHA'-DEVA; *Ægyptos*, from *A'gupta*, or *on all sides guarded*; and *Triton*, probably *Trituni*; as the *Ethiops*, having no such letter as *p*, and generally substituting *t* in its room, would have pronounced *Tripuni*, which is a common *Indian* corruption of *Trivénì*.

The *Sansecrit* word *Trivénì* properly means with *three plaited locks*; but it is always applied to the confluence of *three sacred rivers*, or to the *branching* of a river into *three streams*. ÆTHICUS, in his *Cosmography*,

(a) HOR. APOLLO. πρὸς Νεῖλον ἀγαθὰ πρὸς. B. 1.

phy, instead of saying that the *Hydaspes* flows from a place named *Trivénì*, uses the phrase *three hairs*, or *three locks of hair*, which is a literal version of the *Sanscrit*. Now the *Cálì* consists of *three sacred streams*; the *Nílà*, or *Nile of Ethiopia*; the *Nandà*, or *Nile of Abyssinia*; and the little *Chrīshná*, or *Ast'himatì*. The junction of the great *Chrīshná* with the *Nandà* was held peculiarly sacred, as it appears from the following couplets in the *At'harvávēda*, which are cited in the original as a proof of their authenticity:

Bhadrá bhagavatì Chrīshná grahanacshatra málini,
Samvéśani śanyamanì, viśwasya jagatò niśá;
Agnichaura nipâteshu serva graha nivârané,
Dacshá bhagavatì dévì Nandayá yatra sangatá:
Serva pápa praśamanì bhadré páramaśì mahì,
Sitá śitasamâyógât param yá na nivertatê.

That is, word for word,

“ *CRÍSHNA*’ the prosperous, the imperial, the giver
 “ of delight, the restrainer of evil, decked, like the night
 “ of the whole world, with a chaplet of planets and
 “ stars; the sovereign goddess transcendently bene-
 “ ficial in calamities from fire and robbers, in check-
 “ ing the bad influence of all planets, where she is united
 “ with the *NANDA*: she it is who expiates all sin. O,
 “ propitious river, thou art the mighty goddess, who
 “ causes us to attain the end of mortal births, who, by
 “ the conjunction of black with white waters, never
 “ ceases to produce the highest good.”

Potamos, or the river, in *THEOPHRASTUS*, is commonly supposed to be only an emphatical appellative denoting superiority; but I cannot help thinking it

derived from the *Sanscrit* word *Padma*, which I have heard pronounced *Padam*, and even *Patam*, in the vulgar dialects. It is the *Nymphæa* of LINNÆUS, and most certainly the *lotos* of the *Nile*, on the pericarp of which a frog is represented sitting in an *Egyptian* emblem engraved by MONTFAUCON (*a*). That river, and the marshes near it, abound with that lovely and useful plant; and we shall see presently, that *Cālì* herself is believed to have made its beautiful flower her favourite place of residence, in the character of *Padmā-dēvī*, or the *Goddeſs in the lotos*. Most of the great rivers on which the *Nymphæa* floats in abundance, have the epithet of *Padmāvatī*, or *Padmematī*; and the very word *Potamos*, used as an appellative for a large river, may be thence derived; at least the common etymology of that word is far less probable.

We before observed, that the source of the *Nílā* is in the extensive region of *Sharma*, near the mountains of *Sóma*, in the masculine, or *Dei Luni*; and that it issues from the Lake of the Gods, in the country of *Chandri*, in the feminine, or *Deæ-Lunæ*. To the word *Saróvara*, or *Considerable Lake*, is prefixed in composition, either *Amara*, *Sura*, or *Déva*; and the compound *Déva-saróvara* is generally pronounced, in common speech, *Deo-saraur*. It lies between two ranges of hills; one to the east, called *Ajágara*, or *not wakeful*; and the other to the west, named *Sítánta*, or *end of cold*, which implies that it may have snow on its summit, but in a very small quantity.

Sharma-st'han, called also the mountainous region of *Ajágara*, is said, in the *Brahmánda-purán*, to be 300 *Yogans*, or 1476,3 *British* miles, in length, and 100 in breadth,

(a) 2 BRYANT. *Anc. Mythol.* 334. pl. 6.

breadth, or 492,12 miles. The mountains were named *Ajágara*, or of those *who watch not*, in opposition to the mountains of *Abyssinia*, which were inhabited by *Nisácharas*, or *night-rovers*; a numerous race of *Yacshas*, but not of the most excellent class, who used to sleep in the day time, and revel all night. Mr. BRUCE speaks of a *kowas*, or *watching dog*, who was worshipped in the hills of *Abyssinia*.

The mountains of *Sóma*, or the Moon, are so well known to geographers, that no further description of them can be required; but it may be proper to remark, that PTOLEMY places them too far to the south, and M. D'ANVILLE too far to the north, as it will hereafter be shown. According to Father LOBO, the natives now call them *Toroa*. The *Ajágara* Mountains, which run parallel to the eastern shores of *Africa*, have at present the name of *Lupata*, or the *Backbone of the World*: those of *Sítánta* are the range which lies west of the Lake *Zambre*, or *Zaire*, words not improbably corrupted from *Amara* and *Sura*. The *Lake of the Gods* is believed to be a vast reservoir, which, through visible or hidden channels, supplies all the rivers of the country. The *Hindus*, for mythological purposes, are fond of supposing subterranean communications between lakes and rivers; and the *Greeks* had similar notions. Mr. BRUCE, from the report of the natives, has placed a reservoir of this kind at the source of the *White River* (a), which (though the two epithets have opposite senses) appear to be the *Cálì* of the *Puráns*. It may have been called *white* from the *Cumuda*, which abounds in its waters; at least the mountains near it are thence named *Cumudádri*; and the *Cumuda* is a water-flower sacred to the Moon, which VAN RHEEDE has exhibited, and which seems to be

X 2

either

(a) III Bruce, 719.

either a *Menianthes*, or a *Hydrophyllum*, or a small white *Nymphæa*. The lake of the *Amará*, or Immortals, was not wholly unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but they could not exactly tell where it was situated; and we are not much better acquainted with its true (*a*) situation: it is called *Nilides* by *JUBA*; *Niliducus* and *Nusaptis*, in the *Peutingerian Table*. It is the *Oriental Marsh* of *PTOLEMY*, and was not far from *Rapta*, now *Quiloa*; for that well-informed geographer mentions a certain *DIOGENES*, who went on a trading voyage to *India*, and, on his return, was overtaken near the Cape, now called *Gardefan*, by a violent storm from the N. N. E. which carried him to the vicinity of *Rapta*, where the natives assured him, that the *marshes* or *lakes* whence the *Nile* issued, were at no considerable distance.

The old *Egyptians* themselves, like the present *Hindus*, (who are apt, indeed, to place reservoirs for water, of different magnitudes, on the high grounds of most countries,) had a notion of a receptacle which supplied the *Nile* and other great *African* rivers; for the Secretary of *MINERVA*'s temple informed *HERODOTUS*, that the holy river proceeded from deep lakes between the mountains of *Croph*i and *Moph*i; that part of its waters took their course toward the north, and the rest to the south through *Ethiopia*: but either the secretary himself was not perfectly master of the subject, or the historian misunderstood him; for *HERODOTUS* conceived that those lakes were close to *Syene*, (*b*;) and, as he had been there himself without seeing any thing of the kind, he looked upon the whole account as a fiction. It is not improbable, however, that the lakes were said by the secretary to be near the country of *Azania*, or *Azan*, which was mistaken for *Syene*, in *Egypt* called *Uswán*, or *Afwán*.

From

(a) Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

(b) 2 Herod. c. 28.

From this idea of a general reservoir, the ancients concluded that the *Niger* also had its origin from the same lakes with the *Nile*: but JUBA acknowledged that the channels ran underground for the space of twenty days march, or about 300 miles, (a.) In conformity to the relation of DIOGENES, the marshy lakes were said by JUBA to lie near the Ocean; but he asserted positively, that the *Nile* did not immediately rise from them; adding, that it flowed through subterraneous passages for the space of several days' journey, and, on its re-appearance, formed another marshy lake, of still greater extent, in the land of the *Massæsyli*, who were, perhaps, the *Maháhásyasilas* of the *Puráns*. The second lake corresponds in situation with the extensive marshes from which the *Nahru'labyad* of the *Arabs*, or the *White River*, has its source, according to Mr. BRUCE, who places the lake about the 3d or 4th degree of north latitude. It is named *Cowir* in the maps; and is noticed by the *Nubian* geographers.

The word *Nusaptis*, which is applied, as before-mentioned, to the first lake, may be derived from *Nisápati*, or the *Lord of Night*, a title of the God LUNUS. The whole country, indeed, with its mountains, and most of its rivers, had appellations relating to the moon; and we find in it several smaller rivers, which we cannot now ascertain, with the names *Rajanì*, or *Night*; *Cuhú*, or the *Day after the Conjunction*; *Anumatì*, or that after the *Opposition*; *Rácà*, or the *full Orb of the Moon*; and *Siníválì*, or *first visible Crescent*. The inhabitants of that region are by PROLEMY called *Mastitæ*; by JUBA, as we before observed, *Massæsyli*; and in the Maps, *Massi*, or *Massagueios*. In all those denominations, the leading root *Massa*, whatever be its meaning, is clearly distinguishable; and, as there were people with a similar name in *Mauritania*, PLINY and his followers make JUBA alledge, that the lakes

just

(a) Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

just mentioned were in that country ; but it is hardly possible that JUBA could have made such a mistake with respect to a country so near his own : nor can we refrain from observing, that PLINY was an indifferent geographer, and that his extracts and quotations are in general very inaccurate.

The second lake, or marsh, appears to be the *Padmavana* of the *San scrit* legends ; and that word implies, that it abounded with the *Nymphæa* ; but it was probably the *Padma*, distinguished by the epithet of *Cóti-patra*, or with *ten millions of petals*, which I conceive to be the *Enfete* of Mr. BRUCE, who mentions it as growing there in the greatest abundance. It is true, that the *Enfete* has no botanical affinity with the *Nymphæa* ; but the *Hindus* were superficial botanists, and gave the same appellation to plants of different classes, as the word *Lotos*, indeed, was applied by the *Greeks* to the common *Padma*, or water-lily, and to the celebrated fruit of the *Lotophagi*, which had no relation to it. The usual number of petals on the *Nymphæa Lotos* is *fifteen* ; but some have only *eight*. The character of the genus, indeed, is to have *numerous petals* ; and the *San scrit* epithet *Sahasra-patra*, or *thousand-petalled*, is applied in dictionaries to the common *Padma* : but nothing could have justified such an epithet as *Cóti-patra*. On some *Egyptian* monuments we find *ISIS* reclined among the leaves of a plant, supposed to be the *Cadalí*, or *Mauza*, which has been changed into *Musa* by LINNÆUS : but Mr. BRUCE has exploded that error, and shewn that the plant was no other than his *Enfete*. The *Indian* Goddess, indeed, fits in the character of *YACSHINI' dévi*, on the leaves of the *Mauza* ; but in that form, which was an *avántara*, or lower incarnation, she never has the majesty or the title of *PADMA'*. It is expressly said in the *Purá-nas*, that, on the banks of the *Cáli* river, *PADMA'* resides in the *Cóti-patra*, a flower unknown in *India*,
and

and consequently ill described in the *Sanſcrit* books. Where PLINY mentions the Lotos of the *Nile*, he uſes a phraſe very applicable to the *Enſete*, “foliis denſâ congerie ſtipatis;” and, though he adds a few particulars not agreeing with Mr. BRUCE’s full deſcription of that plant, yet PLINY, being a careleſs writer, and an inaccurate botaniſt, might have jumbled together the properties of two different flowers.

The before-named country of *Chandri-ſt’hân* was thus denominated from a fable in the *Purâns*: The God *Chandra*, or LUNUS, having loſt his ſex in *India*, became *Chandri*, or LUNA, who concealed herſelf in the mountains near the lakes of which we have been treating. She was there viſited by the Sun, and by him had a numerous progeny, called *Pulindas*, from *Pulina*, an *iſlet* or *ſand-bank*, who dwelt near the rivers that ran from thoſe mountains, and acknowledged no ruling powers but the Sun and Moon.

Sharma-ſt’hân, of which we cannot exactly diſtinguiſh the boundaries, but which included *Ethiopia above Egypt*, as it is generally called, with part of *Abyſſinia* and *Azan*, received its name from SHARMA, of whom we ſhall preſently ſpeak. His deſcendants, being obliged to leave *Egypt*, retired to the mountains of *Ajâgar*, and ſettled near the Lake of the Gods. Many learned *Brâhmens* are of opinion, that by the Children of SHARMA, we muſt underſtand that race of *Dévatâs* who were forced to emigrate from *Egypt* during the reigns of SANI and RA’HU, or SATURN and TYPHON. They are ſaid to have been a quiet and blameleſs people, and to have ſubſiſted by hunting wild elephants, of which they ſold or bartered the teeth, and even lived on the fleſh. They built the town of *Rûpavatî*, or the *beautiful*; which the *Greeks* called *Rapta*, and thence gave the name of *Raptii*, or *Rapſii*,
to

to its inhabitants. It is generally supposed, that only one town in that country was named *Rapta*; but STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* positively asserts, that there were two of the name, (*a* :) one, the capital of *Ethiopia*; and another, a small town or village, consisting of huts inhabited by seafaring men, near a harbour at the mouth of the river *Raptus*. The former is the *Rûpavati* of the *Purânas*, in which it is declared to have stood near the *Câlî*. We cannot perfectly ascertain its position; but it was, I think, situated near the southern extremity of the Divine Lake, now called *Zambre*, or *Maravi*; for PROLEMY places the *Raptii* about the sources of the *Nile*, that is *thirteen* or *fourteen* degrees from the city, whence, as he supposes, that people was named. No further description can justly be expected of a country so little known: but we may observe, that the *Nubian* geographer mentions a mountain near the Lake of the Gods, called the Mount of the *Painted Temple*; because, probably, it contained hieroglyphicks cut on stone, and painted, such as are to be seen at this day in some parts of *Egypt*. He adds, that on the bank of the *second* lake was the statue of a certain *Masha*, supposed to be his body itself petrified as a punishment for his crimes.

I. It is related in the *Padma-purân*, that SATYAVRA'TA, whose miraculous preservation from a general deluge is told at length in the *Mâtshya*, had three sons, the eldest of whom was named JYA'PETI, or *Lord of the Earth*. The others were C'HARMA and SHARMA, which last words are, in the vulgar dialects, usually pronounced *C'ham* and *Sham*; as we frequently hear *Kishn* for CRI'SHNA. The royal patriarch (for such is his character

(a) STEPH. Byzant. on the word *Rapta*.

character in the *Puráns*) was particularly fond of JYA'PETI, to whom he gave all the regions to the north of *Himálaya*, or the *Snowy Mountains*, which extend from sea to sea, and of which *Caucasus* is a part. To SHARMA he allotted the countries to the south of those mountains: But he cursed C'HARMA; because, when the old monarch was accidentally inebriated with a strong liquor made of fermented rice, C'HARMA laughed; and it was in consequence of his father's imprecation, that he became a slave to the slaves of his brothers.

The children of SHARMA travelled a long time, until they arrived at the bank of the *Nílá*, or *Cáli*: and a *Bráhmen* informs me (but the original passage from the *Purán* is not yet in my possession) that their journey began after the building of the *Padmá-mandira*, which appears to be the tower of *Babel*, on the banks of the river *Cumudvatí*, which can be no other than the *Euphrates*. On their arrival in *Egypt*, they found the country peopled by evil beings, and by a few impure tribes of men, who had no fixed habitations: their leader, therefore, in order to propitiate the tutelary divinity of that region, sat on the bank of the *Nile*, performing acts of austere devotion, and praising PADMA'-*dévì*, or the Goddess residing on the *Lotos*. PADMA' at last appeared to him, and commanded him to erect a pyramid in honour of her, on the very spot where he then stood. The associates began the work, and raised a pyramid of earth two *crós* long, one broad, and one high, in which the Goddess of the *Lotos* resided; and from her it was called *Padmá-mandira*, and *Padmá-mát'ha*. By *mandira* is meant a *temple* or *palace*; and by *mát'ha*, or *mer'ha*, a *college* or *habitation of students*: for the Goddess herself instructed SHARMA and his family in the most useful arts, and taught them the *Yacsha-lipi*, or *writing of the Yacshas*, a race of superior beings, among whom CUVERA was the chief. It does not clearly appear on what occasion the *Sharmicas* left

left their first settlement, which had so auspicious a beginning; but it has before been intimated, that they probably retreated to *Ajágara*, in the reigns of SANI and RA'HU, at which time, according to the *Puráns*, the *Dévatás*, among whom the *Sharmicas* are reckoned, were compelled to seek refuge in the mountains. A similar flight of the *Dévatás* is, however, said to have been caused by the invasion of DEVA-NAHUSH, or DIONYSIUS.

The *Padmá-mandir* seems to be the town of *Byblos*, in *Egypt*, now called *Babel*; or rather that of *Bábél*, from which original name the *Greeks* made *Byblos*. It stood on the canal, which led from the *Balbitine* branch of the *Nile* to the *Phatmetic*; a canal which is pretty well delineated in the *Peutingerian Table*: and it appears, that the most southern *Iseum* of that table is the same with the *Byblos* of the *Greeks*. Since this mound, or pyramid, was raised but a short time after that on the *Cumudvatí*, and by a part of the same builders, and since both have the same name in *Sanscrit*, whence it should seem that both were inscribed to the same divinity, we can hardly fail to conclude, that the *Padmá-mandiras* were the two *Babels*; the first on the *Euphrates*, the second on the *Nile*. The old place of worship at *Byblos* was afterwards much neglected, being scarce mentioned by ancient authors. STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* says it was very strong; and it was there, according to THUCYDIDES, and to the *Persicks* of CTESIAS, quoted by PHOTIUS, that INARUS, king of *Lybia*, with his *Athenian* auxiliaries, and the *Egyptians*, who were attached to him, sustained a siege of a year and a half against the whole *Persian* army, under MEGABYZUS: but, as it stood in low marshy ground, it probably owed its chief strength to the vast mound of earth mentioned in the *Puránas*, the dimensions of which are, however, (as it is usual in poetical descriptions,) much exaggerated. One of the three grand branches of the *Nile*, in the vicinity of *Padmá-mat'h*, is called

Pathmetí

Pathmeti by PTOLEMY, and *Phatmi* by DIODORUS the Sicilian. Both seem derived from the Sanscrit corrupted: for *Padma* is in many Indian dialects pronounced *Padm*, or *Podm*, and in some *Patma*. To the same root may be referred the appellation of the nome *Phthembuti*, or *Phthemmuthi*, as it is also written; for the *Padmâ-mat'h* was in the nome *Profopitis*, which once made a part, as it evidently appears, of the nome *Phthembuti*; though it was afterwards considered as a separate district, in consequence of a new division. *Profopitis*, most certainly, is derived from a Greek word, and alludes to the summit of the *Delta*, seen on a passage down the *Nile* from the city of *Memphis*; but *Potamitis*, which was applied to *Egypt* itself, can hardly mean any more, than that the country lies on both sides of a large river, which would not be a sufficient discrimination to justify that common etymology: and we have already hazarded a conjecture that *Potamos*, as a proper name of the *Nile*, relates to the holy and beautiful *Padma*.

Of the *Yacsha* letters, before mentioned, I should wish to give a particular account; but the subject is extremely obscure. CRINITUS asserts, that the Egyptian letters were invented by *ISIS*; and *ISIS* on the *Lotos*, was no other, most certainly, than *PADMA'-DE'VÌ*, whom the *Purânas* mention as the instructress of the *Sharmicas* in the *Yacsha* mode of writing. According to the *Brâhmens*, there are written characters of three principal sorts, the *Dévanâgârî*, the *Paísâchî*, and the *Yâcshî*; but they are only variations of the same original elements. The *Dévanâgârî* characters are used in the northern, the *Paísâchî* in the southern, parts of *India*; and the *Yâcshî*, it is said, in *Butan*, or in *Tibet*. The *Pandits* consider the *Dévanâgârî* as the most ancient of the three; but the beauty and exquisite perfection of them renders this very doubtful; especially as *ATRI*, whom they suppose to have received

ceived them from the Gods, lived a long time, as they say, in the countries bordering on the *Cáli*, before he repaired to the *Dévánica* Mountains, near *Cábul*, and there built the town of *Dévanagar*, from which his system of letters had the name of *Dévanágári*. As to the *Páisácha* characters, they are said to have been invented by the *Pális*, or Shepherds, who carried them into *Ethiopia*. The *Yacsha* writing I had once imagined to be a system of hieroglyphicks; but had no authority from the *Puránas* to support that opinion, and I dropped it on better information; especially as the *Bráhmens* appear to have no idea of hieroglyphicks, at least according to our conception of them.

The *Sharmicas*, we have observed, rank among the *Dévatás*, or Demi-gods; and they seem to have a place among the *Yacshas* of the *Puráns*, whom we find in the northern mountains of *India*, as well as in *Ethiopia*. The country in which they finally settled, and which bore the name of their ancestors, was in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, and seems to comprise all that sub-division of it, which, in the *Bhágavat*, and other books, is called *Cussha-dwíp without*.

Several other tribes, from *India* or *Persia*, settled afterwards in the land of *SHARMA*. The first and most powerful of them were the *Pális*, or Shepherds, of whom the *Puránas* give the following account.

II. *I'RŚHU*, surnamed *Pingácsha*, the son of *UGRA*, lived in *India* to the south-west of *Cáshi*, near the *Naravindhya* river, which flowed, as its name implies, from the *Vindhya* mountains. The place of his residence to the south of those hills was named *Palli*, a word now signifying a large town and its district; or *Páli*, which may be derived from *Pála*, a herdsman or shepherd. He was a prince mighty and warlike,

warlike, though very religious: but his brother TA'RA'C'HYA, who reigned over the *Vindyhan* mountaineers, was impious and malignant; and the whole country was infested by his people, whom he supported in all their enormities. The good king always protected the pilgrims to *Cási*, or *Varānes*, in their passage over the hills, and supplied them with necessaries for their journey; which gave so great offence to his brother, that he waged war against I'R'SHU, overpowered him, and obliged him to leave his kingdom. But MAHA'DE'VA, proceeds the legend, assisted the fugitive prince, and the faithful *Pális*, who accompanied him; conducting them to the banks of the *Cáli*, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, where they found the *Sharmicas*, and settled among them. In that country they built the temple and town *Punyavatì*, or *Punya-nagarì*; words implying *holiness* and *purity*, which it imparts, say the *Hindus*, to zealous pilgrims. It is believed at this day to stand near the *Cáli*, or the low hills of *Mandara*, which are said, in the *Purānas*, to consist of *red earth*; and on those hills the *Pális*, under their virtuous leader, are supposed to live, like the *Gandharvas*, on the summit of *Himālaya*, in the lawful enjoyment of pleasures; rich, innocent, and happy, though intermixed with some *Mléch'has*, or people who *speak a barbarous dialect*, and with some of a fair complexion. The low hills of *Mandara* include the tract called *Meroë*, or *Merhoë*, by the *Greeks*; in the centre of which is a place named *Mandara* in the *JESUITS'* Map, and *Mandera* by Mr. BRUCE, who says, that of old it was the residence of the shepherds, or *Palli* kings. In that part of the country the hills consist of *red earth*; and their name *Mandara* is a derivative from *manda*, which, among other senses, means *sharp-pointed*, from the root *mand*, which may have the sense of *blind*, to *cut*: so that *Mandara-parvata* signifies a mountain *dividing* the waters, and forcing them to run different ways; an etymology confirmed by Mr. BRUCE in his description of *Meroë*, where he accounts

for

for its being called an island. The compound *Punya-nagarì*, or *City of Virtue*, seems to imply both a seat of government, and a principal temple with a college of priests: it was, therefore, the celebrated city of *Meroë*, a word which may be derived from *MERHA* (*vidyārt'hinām grīham*; the *mansion of students*, as it is explained in the dictionaries;) or from *MRARA*, of whom we shall presently speak.

To the king of the *Pālis*, named also *Palli*, from those whom he governed, *MAHA'DE'VA* gave the title of *NAIRRĪTA*, having appointed him to guard the *nairrīti*, or south-west: and though he was a *Pisācha* by birth, or naturally bloody-minded, yet he was rewarded for his good disposition, and is worshipped in *India* to this day, among the eight *Dic-pālas*, or guardians of as many quarters, who constantly watch, on their elephants, for the security of *Cāsì*, and other holy places in *Jambu-dwīpa*: but the abode of his descendants is declared, in the *Purānas*, to be still on the banks of the *Cālì*, or *Nilà*. One of his descendants was *LUBDHACA*, of whom an account will be given in a subsequent section; and from *LUBDHACA* descended the unfortunate *LI'NA'SU*, (not the bard *HERIDATTA*, who had also that name, and who will be mentioned hereafter more particularly; but) a prince whose tragical adventures are told in the *Rājjanīti*, and whose death was lamented annually by the people of *Egypt*. All his misfortunes arose from the incontinence of his wife *YO'GA*, *BHRAST'A'*, or *YO'GA'CASHTA*: and his son *MAHA'SURA*, having, by mistake, committed incest with her, put himself to death, when he discovered his crime, leaving issue by his lawful wife. May we not reasonably conjecture, that *LUBDHACA* was the *LABDACAS*; *LI'NA'SU*, the *LAIUS*; and *YO'GA'CASHTA*, the *JOCASTA*, of the *Greeks*? The word *Yadupa*, from which *ŒDIPUS* may be derived, signifies King of the *Yadu* family, and might have been a title of the unhappy *MAHA'SURA*.

This

This account of the *Pális* has been extracted from two of the eighteen *Puránas*, entitled *SCANDA*, or the God of War, and *BRAHMA'NDA*, or the Mundane Egg. We must not omit, that they are said to have carried from *India* not only the *At'harvá-véda*, which they had a right to possess, but even the *three* others, which they acquired clandestinely; so that the *four* books of ancient *Indian* scripture once existed in *Egypt*; and it is remarkable, that the books of *Egyptian* science were exactly *four*, called the books of *Harmonia*, or *HERMES*, which are supposed to have contained subjects of the highest antiquity, (a.) *NON-NUS* mentions the first of them as believed to be coeval with the world; and the *Bráhmens* assert, that their three first *Védas* existed before the creation.

The *Pális* remaining in *India* have different names. Those who dwell to the south and south-west of *Benáres*, are, in the vulgar dialects, called *Pális* and *Bhils*; in the mountains to the north-east of that city, they are in *Sanscrit* named *Cirátas*; and toward the *Indus*, as I am informed, a tribe of them has the appellation of *Haritas*. They are now considered as outcasts, yet are acknowledged to have possessed a dominion in ancient times from the *Indus* to the eastern limits of *Bengal*, and even as far as *Siam*. Their ancestors are described as a most ingenious people, virtuous, brave, and religious; attached particularly to the worship of *MAHA'DE'VA*, under the symbol of the *Linga* or *Phallus*; fond of commerce, art, science; and using the *Paisáchì* letters, which they invented. They were supplanted by the *Rájaputras*; and their country, before named *Pálist'hán*, was afterwards called *Rájaputana* in the vulgar dialect of their conquerors. The history of the *Pális* cannot fail to be interesting, especially as it will be found much connected with that of *Europe*; and I hope soon to be supplied with materials

(a) See 2 Bryant, 150.

materials for a fuller account of them. Even their miserable remains in *India* must excite compassion, when we consider how great they once were, and from what height they fell through the intolerant zeal and superstition of their neighbours. Their features are peculiar, and their language different, but perhaps not radically, from that of other *Hindus*. Their villages are still called *Palli*. Many places, named *Palita*, or, more commonly, *Bhilata*, were denominated from them; and in general, *Palli* means a village or town of *shepherds* or *herdsmen*. The city of *IRSHU*, to the south of the *Vindhya* mountains, was emphatically styled *Palli*; and, to imply its distinguished eminence, *Srî-palli*. It appears to have been situated on or near the spot where *Bopál* now stands, and to be the *Saripalla* of *PTOLEMY*, which was called *Palibothræ* by the *Greeks*, and, more correctly in the *Peutingerian Table*, *Palipotra*; for the whole tribe are named *Paliputras* in the sacred books of the *Hindus*, and were indubitably the *Palibothri* of the ancients, who, according to *PLINY*, governed the whole country from the *Indus* to the mouth of the *Ganges*: but the *Greeks* have confounded them and their capital city with the *Baliputras*, whose chief town, denominated from them, had also the name of *Râjagriha*, since changed into *Râjamahall*. As it was in the *Mandala*, or circle of the *Baliputras*, it is improperly called by *PTOLEMY*, who had heard that expression from travellers, *Palibothræ* of the *Mandalas*.

We have said, that *I'R'SHU* had the surname of *Pingâcsha*, or *yellow-eyed*; but in some dictionaries he is named *Pingásâ*, or *yellow as fine gold*; and in the track of his emigration from *India*, we meet with indications of that epithet. The *Turkish* geographers consider the sea-coast of *Yemen*, says Prince *KAN-TEMIR*, as part of *India*, calling its inhabitants *yellow Indians*. The province of *Ghilân*, says *TEXEIRA*, has also the appellation of *Hindu'l Asfar*, or *Yellow India*; and

and the *Caspian* itself is by the *Turks* called the Yellow Sea, (a.) This appears to be the origin of the *Panchæan* tribes, in *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*, whose native country was called *Panchæa*; and the islands near it, *Panchæan*: though *Diodorus* of *Sicily*, attempting to give a description, from *Euhemerus*, of *Panchæa*, or *Pingáfa*, has confined it to an inconsiderable island near *Dwáracà*; yet it was really *India* itself, as his description sufficiently shows: and the place which he names *Oceanida*, is no other than old *Ságar*, at the mouth of the *Ganges*. The northern mountain, which he speaks of, is *Méru*: and the three towns near it are described in the *Puráns* with almost the same appellations.

Orus, the shepherd, mentioned in ancient accounts of *Egypt*, but of whom few particulars are left on record, was, most probably, *Ir'shu*, the *Palli*; whose descendants, the *Pingácsas*, appear to have been the *Phenician* shepherds, who once established a government on the banks of the *Nile*. The *Phenicians* first made their appearance on the shores of the *Erythrean* or *Red Sea*, by which we must understand the whole *Indian Ocean* between *Africk* and the *Malay* coasts; and the *Puránas* thus represent it, when they describe the waters of the *Arunódadhi*, as reddened by the reflection of solar beams from the southern side of mount *Suméru*, which abounds with gems of that colour. Something of this kind is hinted by *Pliny*, (b.) It is asserted by some (and from several circumstances it appears most probable) that the first settlements of the *Phenicians* were on the *Persian Gulph*, which is part of the *Erythrean Sea*. *Justin* says, that, having been obliged to leave their native country, (which seems from the context to have been very far eastward,) they settled near the *Assyrian Lake*, which is

VOL. III Y the

(a) Müller, p. 106.

(b) Lib. 6 Cap. 23.

the *Persian* Gulph ; and we find an extensive district, named *Palestine*, to the east of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. The word *Palestine* seems derived from *Palist'hán*, the seat of the *Pális*, or Shepherds, (a.) The *Samaritans*, who before lived in that country, seem to have been a remnant of the *Pális*, who kept themselves distinct from their neighbours, and probably removed for that reason to the *Palestine* on the shore of the *Mediterranean* ; but, after their arrival in that country, they wished to ingratiate themselves with the *Jews* and *Phenicians*, and, for that purpose, claimed affinity with them ; alledging, sometimes, that they were descended from *JACOB*, and at other times, that they sprang from *PINKHAS* ; a word pronounced also *PHINEAS*, and supposed (but, I think, less probably) to mean the son of *AARON*. Certainly, the *Jews* looked upon the *Samaritans* as a tribe of *Philistines* ; for mount *Garizim* was called *Palitan* and *Peltan*. *TREMELIUS*, in the *Wisdom of the Son of SIRACH*, writes *Palischthæa* ; but in the *Greek* we find the *Philistines*, who reside on the mount of *Samaria*, (b.) But let us return to *Palestine* in *Affyria*.

Whether the posterity of *Pingácsha*, or the *Yellow Hindus*, divided themselves into two bodies, one of which passed directly into *Phenice*, and the other went along the *Arabian* shores to *Abyssinia*, or whether the whole nation first entered the southern parts of *Arabia*, then crossed over to *Africk*, and settled in the countries adjacent to the *Nile*, I cannot determine ; but we have strong reasons to believe, that some, or all of them, remained a considerable time on the coast of *Yemen*. The *Panchæan* tribes in that country were considered as *Indians*. Many names of places in it, which ancient geographers mention, are clearly *Sanscrit*, and most of those names are found at present in
India.

(a) Lib. 6. cap. 70.

(b) Chap. 50. v. 26.

India. The famed *Rhadamanthus*, to whom HOMER gives the epithet *yellow*, and his brother MINOS, were, it seems, of *Phenician* extraction. They are said to have reigned in *Arabia*, and were, probably, *Pális*, descended from PINGA'CSHA, who, as we have observed, were named also *Cirátas*; whence the western island, in which MINOS, or his progeny, settled, might have derived its appellations of *Curetis* (a) and *Crete*. In scripture we find the *Peleti* and *Kerethi* named as having settled in *Palestine*; but the second name was pronounced *Kerethi* by the *Greek* interpreters, as it is by several modern commentators: hence we meet with *Krita*, a district of *Palestine*, and at *Gaza* with a JUPITER *Cretæus*, who seems to be the *Critéswara* of the *Hindus*. In the spoken *Indian* dialects, *Palita* is used for *Palli*, a herdsman; and the *Egyptians* had the same word; for their priests told HERODOTUS, that their country had once been invaded by PHILITIUS, the Shepherd, who used to drive his cattle along the *Nile*, and afterwards built the pyramids, (b.) The *Phyllitæ* of PTOLEMY, who are called *Bulloits* by Captain R. COVERT, had their name from *Bhilata*, which in *India* means a place inhabited by *Pallis*, or *Bhils*. The ancient Shepherds made so conspicuous a figure in *Egypt*, that it is needless to expatiate on their history; and for an account of the Shepherds in or near *Abyssinia*, I refer to the Travels of Mr. BRUCE. Let us return to *Meroë*.

The writers of the *Purânas*, and of other books esteemed sacred by the *Hindus*, were far from wishing to point out the origin of mere cities, how distinguished soever in civil transactions: their object was to account

Y 2

for

(a) PLIN. lib. 4. cap. 12. *Curetis* was named, according to ANAXIMANDER, from the *Curetes* under their King PHILISTIDES.

(b) HEROD. B. 2. 148.

for the foundation of temples and places of pilgrimage: but it often happened, that several places of worship were in different periods erected at a small distance from each other; and, as the number of inhabitants increased round each temple, an immense town was at length formed out of many detached parts; though we are never told in the *Purānas*, whether those consecrated edifices were contiguous or far asunder. This happened to *Memphis*, as we shall presently show; and it seems to have been the case with *Punyavati*, and with *Merha*, or *Mrīra*. Those words are written *Met'ha* and *Mrīra*; but there is something so peculiar in the true sound of the *Nāgarī* letters, *ta*, *t'ha*, *da*, *d'ha*, that they are generally pronounced, especially when they are placed between two vowels, like a palatial *ra*. The vowel *rī* has likewise a great peculiarity, and, as we before observed on the word *Kiṣhn* for *Crīshna*, is frequently changed. Now the whole *Troglodytica* was named *Midoë*, or *Mirhoë*; and he who shall attentively consider the passage in *PLINY*, where the towns of *Midoë* and *Asal* are mentioned, will perceive that they can be no other than *Meroë* and *Æsar*. This interchange of *da* and *ra* so exactly resembles the *Sanskrit*, that the name of *Meroë* seems more probably derived from *Mrida*, than from *Met'ha*, or a college of priests; especially as the *Pālis* were almost exclusively attached to the worship of *MRĪRA*, or *MAHA'DE'VA*. A place in *Pegu*, called *Mrīra* from the same deity, has, in *PTOLEMY*, the name of *Mareura*, and is now pronounced *Mero* by the natives.

According to the *Purāns*, the residence of King *IṬ* (who formerly ruled over *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*) was on the banks of the *Cālī* river, and had the name of *Mrīra*, or *Mrīra-st'hān*, because its principal temple was dedicated to *MRĪRA*, and his consort *MRINA'NĪ*, or *PA'RVATĪ*. Now, when we read in *STEPHANUS* of *Byzantium*, that the fort of *Merusium*, near *Syracuse*,
was

was believed by some to have taken its name from *Meroë* in *Ethiopia*, we must understand, that it was named from a place of worship sacred to MRĪRA, the chief *Ethiopian* divinity : and the same author informs us, that *Meroessa Diana*, or MRIRE'SWARI DE'VĪ, who is represented with a *crescent* on her forehead, was adored at *Merusium* in *Sicily*. We may conclude, that her husband, MRĪRE'SWARA, was the God of *Meroë*, called a *barbarous deity* by the *Greeks*, who, being themselves unable to articulate his name, insisted that it was concealed by his priests. It has been imagined, that CAMBYSES gave the name of his sister and wife to *Meroë*, but it is very dubious, in my opinion, whether he penetrated so far as that city. In all events, he could have made but a short stay in the district, where, as he was abhorred by the *Egyptians* and *Ethiops*, it is improbable that a name imposed by him could have been current among them : and, whatever might have been his first intention as to the name of his wife, yet, when he had killed her, and undergone a series of dreadful misfortunes in those regions, it is most probable that he gave himself no further trouble about her or the country.

In the book entitled *Saiva-ratnācara*, we have the following story of King I'T, who is supposed to have been MRĪRA himself in a human shape, and to have died at *Meroë*, where he long reigned.

On the banks of the *Nílá* there had been long contests between the *Devatás* and the *Daityas* : but the latter tribe having prevailed, their king and leader, SANC'HA'SURA, who resided in the ocean, made frequent incursions into the country, advancing usually in the night, and retiring before day to his submarine palace. Thus he destroyed or made captive many excellent princes, whose territories and people were between two fires ; for, while SANC'HA'SURA was ravaging
ing

ing one side of the continent, CRACACHA, king of *Crauncha-dwîp*, used to desolate the other: both armies consisting of savages and cannibals, who, when they met, fought together with brutal ferocity, and thus changed the most fertile of regions into a barren desert. In this distress the few natives, who survived, raised their hands and hearts to BHAGAVA'N, and exclaimed, 'Let him that can deliver us from these disasters be our King;' using the word I'T, which echoed through the whole country. At that instant arose a violent storm, and the waters of the *Câlî* were strangely agitated, when there appeared from the waves of the river a man, afterwards called I'T, at the head of a numerous army, saying, "*abhyam*," or, *there is no fear*; and, on his appearance, the *Daityas* descended into *Pâtâla*, the demon SANC'HA'SURA plunged into the ocean, and the savage legions preserved themselves by a precipitate flight. The King I'T, a subordinate incarnation of MRÎRA, re-established peace and prosperity through all *Sanc'ha-dwîpa*, through *Barbaradêsa*, *Misra-st'hân*, and *Arva-st'hân*, or *Arabia*: the tribes of *Cutîla-cêsas* and *Hâsyasîlas* returned to their former habitation, and justice prevailed through the whole extent of his dominions. The place near which he sprang from the middle of the *Nilâ* is named *I'ta*, or *I'T-st'hân*; and the capital of his empire, *Mrîra*, or *Mrîra-st'hân*. His descendants are called *Ait*, in the derivative form, and their country *Aitéya*. The king himself is generally denominated *AIT*, and was thus erroneously named by my *Pandit* and his friends, till, after a long search, they found the passage in which his adventure is recorded. The *Greeks*, in whose language *aëtos* means an eagle, were very ready, as usual, to find an etymology for *Ait*. They admit, however, that the *Nile* was first called *Aëtos*, after a dreadful swelling of the river, which greatly alarmed the *Ethiopians*, (a;) and this is conformable to what we read in the

the *Saiva-ratnâcara*. At the time of that prodigious intumescence in the river, it is said that PROMETHEUS was King of *Egypt*: but PROMETHEUS appears to be no other than PRAMAT'HE'SA, a title of MRĪRA, signifying Lord of the *Pramat'has*, who are supposed to be the *five senses*; and in that character he is believed to have formed a race of men. STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* and EUSTATHIUS (*a*) assert, that AETUS was an *Indian* or *Hindu*; but as nothing like this can be collected from the *Purânas*, they confounded, I imagine, I'T or AIT with YADU, of which I shall instantly speak. The chief station of I'T, or *Aitam*, which could not have been very distant from *Mrîra-st'hân*, I take to be the celebrated place of worship mentioned by STRABO, (*b*) and by DIODORUS, called *Avatum*, (*c*), which was near *Meroë*. It was the same, I believe, with the *Tathis* of PTOLEMY, and *Tatu* of PLINY, situated in an island, which, according to Mr. BRUCE, is at present known by the name of *Kurgos*, and which was so near *Meroë* as to form a kind of harbour for it.

The origin of the *Yâtus* is thus related. UGRASE'NA, or UGRA, was father of DE'VACÌ, who was CRISHNA'S mother. His son CANSA, having imprisoned him, and usurped his throne, became a merciless tyrant, and showed a particular animosity against his kinsmen the *Yâdavas*, or descendants of YADU, to whom, when any of them approached him, he used to say, *yâtu*, or, *be gone*, so repeatedly, that they acquired the nickname of *Yâtu*, instead of the respectable patronymick by which they had been distinguished. CANSA made several attempts to destroy the children of DE'VACÌ; but CRISHNA, having been preserved from his machinations, lived to kill the tyrant, and restore UGRASE'NA, who became a sovereign of the world. During the infancy, however,

of

(*a*) On *Dionys. Περὶ γηγ.* - (*b*) Strabo. B. 17. p. 823.

(*c*) Diod. Sic. P. 4. C. 1.

of CRISHNA, the persecuted *Yádavas* emigrated from *India*, and retired to the mountains of the exterior *Cúsha-dwíp*, or *Abyssinia*. Their leader, YA'TU, was properly entitled YA'DAVE'NDRA, or Prince of *Yá-davas*; whence those mountains acquired the same appellation. They are now called *Ourémidré*, or *Ardwemidré*, which means, we are told, the Land of *Arwe*, the first king of that country, (a;) but, having heard the true *Sanscrit* name pronounced, in common speech, *Yarevinda*, I cannot but suspect a farther corruption of it in the name of the *Abyssinian* mountains. Those *Indian* emigrants are described in the *Puránas* as a blameless, pious, and even a sacred, race; which is exactly the character given by the ancients to the genuine *Ethiopians*, who are said, by STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, by EUSEBIUS, by PHILOSTRATUS, by EUSTATHIUS, and others, to have come originally from *India* under the guidance of AETUS, or *Yátu*; but they confound him with King AIT, who never was there. YA'DAVE'NDRA (for so his title is generally pronounced) seems to be the wise and learned *Indian* mentioned in the *Paschal Chronicle* by the name of ANDUBARIUS, (b.) The king or chief of the *Yátus* is correctly named YA'TUPA, or, in the western pronunciation, JA'TUPA; and their country would, in a derivative form, be called, *Játupéya*. Now the writers of the *Universal History* assert, that the native *Ethiopians* give their country, even at this day, the names of *Itiopia* and *Zaitiopia*. There can be little or no doubt that YA'TUPA was the King ÆTHIOPS of the *Greek* mythologists, who call him the son of VULCAN; but, according to the *Puránas*, that descent could not be ascribed to YA'TU, though it might, perhaps, to King IT; for it will be shown, in a subsequent part of this Essay, that the VULCAN of *Egypt* was also considered by the *Hindus* as an *avántara*, or subordinate incarnation of MAHA'DE'VA.

Not

(a) Univ. Hist. vol. 16. p. 222.

(b) Chron. Pasch. p. 36.

Not only the land of *Egypt*, and the countries bordering on the *Nile*, but even *Africa* itself, had formerly the appellation of *Aëria*, from the numerous settlements, I suppose, of the *Ahirs*, or Shepherds, as they are called in the spoken *Indian* dialects. In *Sanscrit*, the true word is *Abhir*; and hence, I conceive, their principal station in the land of *Góshen*, on the borders of *Egypt*, was named *Abaris* and *Avaris*; for *Ghosheñà* itself, or *Ghósháyana*, means *the abode of shepherds or herdsmen*; and *Gósha*, though it also signify a *Gópàl*, or Cowherd, is explained, in *Sanscrit* dictionaries, by the phrase *Abhírapallì*, a town or village of *Abhiras* or *Pális*.

The mountains of *Abyssinia* have in *Sanscrit* the name of *Nishadha*; and from them flowed the *Nandà*, (which runs through the land of *Pushpaver sham* about the lake *Dembea*,) the Little *Crishná*, or *Tacazzè*, and the *Sanc'hanágá*, or *Mareb*; of which three rivers we shall hereafter speak more particularly. Since the *Hindus* place another *Méru* in the Southern Hemisphere, we must not be surprized to find the *Nílá* described by them as rushing over three ranges of mountains, which have the same names with three similar ranges over which the *Gangá*, in their opinion, forces its way, before it enters the plains of *India*. Those mountains are the *Himálaya*, or, *seat of snow*, the *Nishadha*, and the *Hémacúta*, or *with a golden peak*. The *Hindus* believe that a range of *African* hills is covered with snow: the old *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, believed the same thing; and modern travellers assert, that snow falls here and there in some parts of *Africa*: but the Southern *Himálaya* is more generally called *Sítánta*, which implies the *end*, or *limit*, of cold. On the Northern *Himálaya* is the celebrated lake *Mánasasaras*, or *Mánasaróvara*, near *Suméru*, the *abode of Gods*; who are represented sometimes as reclining in their bowers, and sometimes as making aërial excursions in their *Vimánas*, or *heavenly cars*. Thus on, or within,

the Southern *Himálaya*, we find the Lake of the Gods, which corresponds with that in the north ; with this difference, that the existence of the southern lake cannot be doubted, while that of the northern may well be called in question, (unless there be such a lake in the unknown region between *Tibet* and the high plains of *Bokhára*;) for what the *Sannyásis* call *Mánasárovar*, is, in truth, the *Vindhyaśaras* of the *Puráns*. Beyond the Southern Lake of the Gods is another *Méru*, the seat also of divinities, and the place of their airy jaunts; for it is declared in the *Puráns*, as the *Bráhmens* inform me, that within the mountains, towards the source of the *Nílá*, there are delightful groves, inhabited by deities, who divert themselves with journeying in their cars from hill to hill. The *Greeks* gave to that Southern *Méru* the appellation of Θεῶν ὄχημα, in allusion to the *Vímáns*, or *celestial cars*; but they meant a range of hills, according to *PLINY* and *AGATHEMERUS*, (a,) not a single insulated mountain. *PLINY*, who places that mountainous tract in the south of *Ethiopia*, makes it project a great way into the southern ocean. Its western limit is mentioned by *PTOLEMY*; and the *Nubian* geographer speaks of all the three ranges. By the *Chariot of the Gods*, we are to understand the lofty grounds in the centre of the *African* peninsula, from which a great many rivers, and innumerable rivulets, flow in all directions. Fires were constantly seen at night on the summit of those highlands; and that appearance, which has nothing very strange in it, has been fully accounted for by modern travellers.

We come now to the *Hásyasílas*, or *Habashis*, who are mentioned, I am told, in the *Puránas*, though but seldom; and their name is believed to have the following etymology. C'HARMA, having laughed at his father SATYAVRA'TA, who had, by accident, intoxicated

(a) Plin. l. 6. c. 30. l. 5. c. 1. l. 2. c. 106. Agathem.
B. 2. ch. 9.

cated himself with a fermented liquor, was nicknamed *Hásyasíla*, or the *Laugher*; and his descendants were called from him *Hásyasílas* in *Sanscrit*; and in the spoken dialects, *Hasyas*, *Hanselis*, and even *Habashis*; for the *Arabick* word is supposed by the *Hindus* to be a corruption of *Hásyá*. By those descendants of C'HARMA they understand the African Negroes, whom they suppose to have been the first inhabitants of *Abyssinia*; and they place *Abyssinia* partly in the *dwípa* of *Cusha*, partly in that of *Sanc'ha Proper*. Dr. Pocock was told at the Cataracts, that beyond them, or in the exterior *Cusha-dwíp*, there were *seven* mountains; and the *Bráhmens* particularly affect that number. Thus they divided the old continent into seven large islands, or peninsulas; and in each island we find seven districts, with as many rivers and mountains. The following is the *Pauránic* division of *Cusha-dwíp*, called *exterior*, with respect to that of *Jambu*:

| DISTRICTS. | MOUNTAINS. | RIVERS. |
|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Apyáyana.</i> | <i>Pushpaversha.</i> | <i>Nandá.</i> |
| <i>Páribhadra.</i> | <i>Cumudádri.</i> | <i>Rajanì.</i> |
| <i>Dévaversha.</i> | <i>Cundádri.</i> | <i>Cuhú.</i> |
| <i>Ramanaca.</i> | <i>Vámadéva.</i> | <i>Saraswatì.</i> |
| <i>Sumanasa.</i> | <i>Sataśrīnga.</i> | <i>Sinívalì.</i> |
| <i>Suróchana.</i> | <i>Sarasa.</i> | <i>Anumatì.</i> |
| <i>Avijñyáta.</i> | <i>Sahasrafruti.</i> | <i>Rácá.</i> |

It seems unnecessary to set down the etymology of all these names; but it may not be improper to add, that *S'ataśringa* means *with a hundred peaks*; and *Sahasrafruti*, *with a thousand streams*.

Between the exterior *Cusha-dwíp* and *Sanc'ha Proper* lies, according to the *Puráns*, on the banks of the *Nilá*, the country of *Barbara*; which includes, therefore,

fore, all the land between *Syene* and the confluence of the *Nile* with the *Tecazzè*, which is generally called *Barbara* and *Barbar* to this day; but, in a larger sense, it is understood by the *Paurānics* to comprize all the burning sands of *Africa*. *Barbara-défa*, which answers to the *Loca arida et ardentia* mentioned by *PLINY* as adjacent to the *Nile*, was a fertile and charming country before it was *burned*, according to the *Hindu* legends, which will be found in a subsequent section; first, by the approach of *SU'RYA*, or the Sun; and afterwards by the influence of *SANI*, or *Saturn*. Its principal city, where *Barbaréswara* had a distinguished temple, was called *Barbara-st'hán*, and stood on the banks of the *Nile*. The *Tamóvanśa*, or Children of *TAMAS*, resided in it; and it is most probably the town of *TAMA*, which *PLINY* places on the eastern bank of the *Nile*, an hundred and twenty-nine *Roman* miles above *Syene*, (*a.*)

The crude noun *Tamas*, in the first case *Tamah*, and *Tamó* before certain consonants, means *darkness*; and it is also a title of *SANI*; whose descendants are supposed to have lived in *Barbara*; and are represented as an ill-clothed, half-starved race of people, much like the present inhabitants of the same country. The following fables appear to be astrological, but might have had some foundation in history, as the *Hindu* regents of planets were, in truth, old Philosophers and Legislators, whose works are still extant.

TAMAH, or *SATURN*, had two wives; *ST'HAVIRA'* and *JARAT'HA'*, whose names imply *age* and *decrepitude*. By the former he had seven sons, *MRĪTYU*, *CA'LA*, *DA'VA*, *ULCA'*, *GHÓRA*, *ADHAMA*, *CANTA'CA*; by the latter only two, *MA'NDYA* and *GULICA*. The sons of *MA'NDYA* were *A'SUBHA*, *ARISHT'HA*, *GULMA*, *PLĪHA*: those of *GULICA* were *GAD'HA* and

(*a*) *Plin. lib. 6, cap. 29.*

and GRAHILA. They were all abominable men, and their names denote every thing that is horrid. It is expressly said in the *Purānas*, that TAMAH was expelled from *Egypt* exactly at the time when ARAMA, a grandson of SATYAVRA'TA, died; and his children retired into *Barbara*; and that his grandson GULMA, reigned over that country when it was invaded by CAPE'NASA, who will presently appear, beyond a doubt, to be CEPHEUS. The *Tamóvanfas* are described as living in *Barbara Proper*, which is now called *Nubia*, and which lay, according to the *Indian* geography, between the *dwīpas* of SANC'HA and of CUSHA *without*: but the other parts of *Barbara*, toward the mouths of the *Nile*, were inhabited by the children of RA'HU; and this brings us to another astronomical tale, extracted from a book entitled *Chintāmañi*.

RA'HU is represented, on account of his tyranny, as an immense river-dragon, or crocodile, or rather a fabulous monster with four talons, called *Grāha*, from a root implying *violent seizure*. The word is commonly interpreted *hánger*, or *shark*; but in some dictionaries it is made synonymous to *nacra*, or *crocodile*; and in the *Purānas* it seems to be the creature of poetical fancy. The tyrant, however, in his human shape, had six children, DHWAJA, DHU'MRA, SINHA, LAGUD'A, DAND'A, and CARTANA, (which names are applied to *comets* of different forms,) all equally mischievous with their father. In his allegorical character, he was decapitated by VISHNU: his lower extremity became the *Cétu*, or *dragon's tail*; and his head, still called *Ráhu*, the *ascending node*: but the head is supposed, when it fell on earth, to have been taken up by PIT'HÍNAS, or PIT'HÍN, and by him placed at *Ráhu-st'hán*, (to which the *Greeks* gave the name of *Heroöpolis*), where it was worshipped, and gave oracular answers; which may be the origin of the speaking heads, mentioned by *Jewish* writers as prepared by magick. The posterity of RA'HU were from him denominated *Grāhas*; and they

might

might have been the ancestors of those *Graii*, or *Greeks*, who came originally from *Egypt*. It is remarkable that *HESIOD*, in his *Theogony*, mentions women in *Africa* named *Graia*, who had fine complexions, and were the offspring of *PHORCYS* and *CE'TO*. The *Gráhas* are painted by the writers of the *Puránas* in most unfavourable colours; but an allowance must be made for a spirit of intolerance and fanaticism. *RA'HU* was worshipped in some countries, as *HAILAL*, or *LUCIFER*, (whom in some respects he resembles :) was adored in the eastern parts of *Egypt*, and in *Arabia*, the *Stony* and the *Desert*, according to *JEROM*, in the life of *HILARION*; but though we must suppose that his votaries had a very different opinion of the *Gráhas* from that inculcated by the *Hindus*, yet it is certain that the *Greeks* were not fond of being called *Graioi*, and very seldom gave themselves that appellation.

The sandy deserts in *Egypt*, to the east and west of the *Nile*, are considered by the *Puráns* as part of *Barbara*; and this may account for what *HERODOTUS* says of the word *Barbaros*, which, according to him, was applied by the *Egyptians* to all who were unable to speak their language, meaning the inhabitants of the *Desert*, who were their only neighbours. Since the people of *Barbara*, or Children of *SATURN*, were looked upon as a cruel and deceitful race, the word was afterwards transferred to men of that disposition; and the *Greeks* who lived in *Egypt*, brought the appellation into their new settlements, but seem to have forgotten its primitive meaning.

On the banks of the *Nilá* we find the *Crishna-giri*, or Black Mountain of *Barbara*, which can be no other than the black and barren range of hills which *MR. BRUCE* saw at a great distance towards the *Nile* from *Tarfowey*. In the caves of those mountains lived the *Tamavatsas*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. Though the land of *Barbara* be said, in the *Puránas*, to lie be-

tween

tween the *dwīpas* of CUSHA and SANC'HA, yet it is generally considered as part of the latter. The *Nile*, on leaving the burning sands of *Barbara*, enters the country of SANC'HA *Proper*, and forces its way through the *Héma-cúta*, or Golden Mountains; an appellation which they retain to this day. The mountain called *Panchryfos* by the *Greeks*, was part of that range which is named *Ollaki* by the *Arabs*: And the *Nubian* geographer speaks of the Golden Mountains, which are a little above *Oswán*. Having passed that ridge, the *Nílá* enters *Cardama-st'hán*, or the *Land of Mud*; which obviously means the fertile *Egyptian* valley so long covered with *mud* after every inundation. The *Puránas* give a dreadful idea of that *muddy land*, and assert that no mortal durst approach it: but this we must understand as the opinion formed of it by the first colonists, who were alarmed by the reptiles and monsters abounding in it, and had not yet seen the beauty and richness of its fertile state. It is expressly declared to be in *Misra-st'hán*, or the *Country of a mixed People*; for such is the meaning in *Sanscrit* of the word *Misra*. Sometimes the compound word *Misra-st'hán* is applied to the Lower *Egypt*, and sometimes (as in the history of the wars of *Capénasá*) to the whole country; in which sense, I am told, the word *Gupta-st'hán* is used in ancient books; but I have never yet seen it applied so extensively. *Agupta* certainly means *guarded on all sides*; and *Gupta*, or *guarded*, is the name of a place reputed holy; which was, I doubt not, the famed *Coptos* of our ancient geographers; who mentioned a tripartite arrangement of *Egypt* exactly conformable to the three divisions of *Misra-st'hán*, particularly recorded in the *Puránas*. The first of them was *Tapóvana*, the Woodlands of *Tapas*, or *austere devotion*, which was probably Upper *Egypt*, or *Thebais*: the second, *Misra Proper*, called also *Cantaca-désa*, or the Land of Thorns, which answers to the Lower *Egypt*, or *Heptanomis*; and the third *Aranya* and *Atavi*, or *The Forests*, emphatically so named, which were situated at the mouths of
the

the *Nílá*, and formed what we call the *Delta*. The first inhabitants of *Egypt* found, on their arrival, that the whole country about the mouths of the *Nile* was an immense forest ; part impervious, which they called *Atavi*, part uninhabited, but practicable, which had the name of *Aranya*.

Tapóvana seems to have been always adapted to religious austerities ; and the first *Christian* anchorets used to seclude themselves in the wilds of *Thebes* for the purpose of contemplation and abstracted piety. Thus we read, that the Abbot PACHOMIUS retired, with his disciples, to the wilderness of *Tabenna*, and there built a monastery, the remains of which are still visible, a day's journey below *Dendera*, near an island now called *Tabenna*, and, according to SICARD, a little below the site of *Thebes*. The country around *Dendera* is at this day covered with forests of *daum* ; a tree which some describe as a dwarf palm, and others as a *rhamnus* ; thence *Dendera* was called by JUVENAL the *shady Tentyra*.

There can be no doubt, that *Tapóvana* was Upper *Egypt*, or the *Thebais* ; for several places, the situation of which will be clearly ascertained in the course of this Essay, are placed by the authors of the *Puráns* in the forests of *Tapas*. The words *Thebais* and *Thebinites*, are both said to be derivatives of *Thebai* ; but the second of them seems rather derived from *Tapóvan* or *Tabenna*. So fond are nations of accommodating foreign words to their own language, that the *Arabs*, who have changed *Taposiris* into *Abú'ssair*, or *Father of Travel*, have, in the same spirit, converted *Tabenna* into *Medínatabíná*, or the *Town of our Father* ; though some of them call it *Medínat Tabu*, from *Tapó*, which an *Arab* could not pronounce. The principal place in this division was *Cardàma-st'hali*, which is mentioned in the *Puráns* as a temple of considerable note. The legend is, that GUPTÉSWARA and his consort had long been

been *concealed* in the *mud* of the *Nílá*, near *Gupta-st'hán*, or *Coptos*; but at length sprang from it, and appeared at *Cardama-st'hálì*, both wholly besmeared with *mud*; whence they had also the titles of *CARDAME'SWARA* and *CARDAME'SWARÌ*. We may observe, that *Gupta* signifies both *guarded* and *concealed*, and in either sense may be the origin of the word *Aiguptos*. As to *Cardama*, the canine letter is so often omitted in the vulgar pronunciation of *San scrit* words, that *Cardam*, or *Cadam*, seems to be the *CADMUS* of the *Greeks*; and we shall hereafter illustrate this etymology with circumstances which will fully confirm it.

Misra-st'hán is called also *Misra* and *Misrena* in the sacred books of the *Hindus*; where it is said that the country was peopled by a *mixed* race, consisting of various tribes, who, though living for their convenience in the same region, kept themselves distinct, and were perpetually disputing either on their boundaries, or, which is most probable, on religious opinions. They seem to be the *mingled people* mentioned in Scripture. To appease their feuds, *BRAHMA'* himself descended in the character of *ISWARA*; whence *Misréswara* became one of his titles. The word *Misr*, which the *Arabs* apply to *Egypt*, and to its metropolis, seems clearly derived from the *San scrit*; but, not knowing its origin, they use it for *any large city*, and give the appellation of *Almisfrán* in the dual, to *Cúfá* and *Basra*: the same word is also found in the sense of a *boundary*, or *line of separation*. Of *Misr* the dual and plural forms in *Hebrew* are *Misraïm* and *Misrím*, and the second of them is often applied in Scripture to the people of *Egypt*. As to the *Mazor*, or more properly, *Maśúr*, there is a difference of opinion among the translators of *ISAIAH*: (a.) In the old *English* version we find the passage, in which the word occurs, thus rendered, “the brooks of defence shall be emptied and dried up:” but

(a) Chap. 19. v. 6. See 2 Kings, 18. 24.

Bishop LOWTH, after some commentators, changes the *brooks* of *defence* into the *canals* of *Egypt*; and this is obviously the meaning of the Prophet; though the form of the word be more like the *Arabian* plural *Musúr*, than any form purely *Hebrew*.

STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* says, that *Egypt* was called *Myara* by the *Phenicians*; but surely this is a mistake for *Mysara*: according to SUIDAS, and EUSEBIUS, it had the name of *Mestraia*; but this I conceive should be written *Mesraia* from *Misréya*, which may be grammatically deduced from the root *Misr*. The name *Cantaca-défa* was given to *Misra* for a reason similar to that of *Acanthus*, a town and territory abounding in *thorny trees*.

It was an opinion of the *Egyptian* priests, and of HERODOTUS also, when he was in their country, that the valley of *Egypt* was formerly an arm of the sea, which extended as far as the Cataracts: whether this opinion be well founded, is not now the question; but a notion of the same kind occurs in the *Purānas*; and the *Bráhmens* account, in their way, for the alteration which they suppose to have happened. PRAMÓDA, they say, was a king of *Sanc'ha-dwíp Proper*, and resided on the shore of the sea called *Sanc'hódadhi*: The country was chiefly peopled by *Mléch'has*, or such as *speak barbarously*, and by savage *Rácshasas*, who are believed to be *evil demons*; nor was a single *Bráhman* to be found in the kingdom, who could explain the *Védas*, and instruct mankind in their duties. This greatly afflicted the pious king; till he heard of a *Rīshi*, or *holy man*, eminent in piety and in sacred knowledge, who lived in the country of *Barbara*, and was named PÍT'HÍ, or PÍT'HÍNASA, but was generally distinguished by the title of PÍT'HÍ-RĪSHI. He was visited by PRAMÓDA in person, and after many intreaties, prevailed on to accompany the king to *Sanc'ha-dwípa*; but, when he saw the incorrigible wickedness of its inhabitants,

tants, he was wholly in despair of effecting any good in that country, and passed the night without sleep. Early in the morning he repaired to the sea-shore, where, taking water and *Cúsha*-grass in his hand, he was on the point of uttering an imprecation on SANC'HÓDADHI. The God of the Ocean perceived his intent, and threw himself trembling at his feet, asking humbly what offence he had committed. "Thy waters (answered the Saint) wash a polluted region, into which the king has conducted me, but in which I cannot exist: give me instantly a purer piece of land, on which I may reside, and perform the duties of religion." In that instant the sea of SANC'HA retired for the space of a hundred *yójanas*, or 492 miles, and left the holy man in possession of all the ground appearing on that dereliction. The king, on hearing of the miracle, was transported with joy, and caused a splendid palace to be built on an island in the territory newly acquired: it was called *Pit'hi-st'hán*, because PÍR'HÍ resided in it, having married the hundred daughters of PRAMÓDA; and, on his beginning to read lectures on the *Véda*, he was in a short time attended by numerous disciples. This fable, which had, probably, some foundation in truth, is related in a book entitled *Viśwasára-pracása*, or a *Declaration of what is most excellent in the Universe*.

Pit'hi-st'hán could not be very distant from *Cardama-st'hali*, or the city of *Thebes*, to which, according to the *Bráhmánda*, the Sage's daughter, from him called PAIT'HINÌ, used to go almost every day for the purpose of worshipping MAHA'DE'VA: it seems, therefore, to be the *Pathros* of Scripture, named *Pathures* by the Greek interpreters, and *Pathuris* by PLINY, from whose context it appears to have stood at no great distance from *Thebes*; and it was, certainly, in Upper *Egypt*. It was probably the same place which PROLEMY calls *Tathyris*, either by mistake, or in conformity to the pronunciation of the *Ethiopians*, who generally

substituted the letter T for P, which they could not articulate. From the data in PTOLEMY it could not have been above six miles to the west of *Thebes*, and was, therefore, in that large island formed by an arm of the *Nile*, which branches out at *Ermenth*, and rejoins the main body of the river at the *Memnonium*. According to the old *Egyptians*, the sea had left all Upper *Egypt* from the Cataracts as far as *Memphis*; and the distance between those two places is nearly that mentioned in the *Purānas*, or about a hundred *yōjans*. The God of the Ocean, it seems, had attempted to regain the land which he had been forced to relinquish; but MAHA'DE'VA (with a new title derived from NABHAS, or the *sky*, and ISWARA, or *lord*,) effectually stopped his encroachments; and this was the origin of *Nabha-st'hán*, or *Memphis*, which was the most distinguished among the many considerable places in *Misra*, and which appears to have consisted of several detached parts; as 1. *Ugra-st'hán*, so called from UGRA, the UCHOREUS of the *Greeks*; 2. *Nabhah*, the *Noph* of Scripture; 3. a part named *Misra*; 4. *Móhana-st'hán*, which may, perhaps, be the present *Mohannan*; and 5. *Laya-st'hán*, or *Laya-vatí*, vulgarly pronounced *Layáti*, the suburb of *Lete*, or *Letopolis*.

Rodana-st'hán, or the Place of Weeping, is the island in the lake of *Máris*, or *Mæris*, concerning which we have the following *Indian* story in the *Viswasāra pracāsa*.

Pelí-suca, who had a power of separating his soul from his body, voluntarily ascended toward heaven; and his wife, MA'RÍSHA', supposing him finally departed, retired to a wilderness, where she sat on a hillock, shedding tears so abundantly, that they formed a lake round it; which was afterwards named *A'sru-tírt'ha*, or the *Holy Place of Tears*. Its waters were black, or very dark azure; and the same colour is ascribed by STRABO to those of *Mæris*. Her son ME'D-

HI, or ME'RHI, SUCA, had also renounced the world, and, seating himself near her, performed the same religious austerities. Their devotion was so fervent, and so long continued, that the inferior Gods began to apprehend a diminution of their own influence. At length MA'RISHA', dying *petivratà*, or *dutiful to her lord*, joined him among the *Viṣṇu-lóca*, or inhabitants of VISHNU's heaven; and her son, having solemnized the obsequies of them both, raised a sumptuous temple, in which he placed a statue of VISHNU, at the feet of his *weeping* mother; whence it acquired the appellation of *Ródana-st'hána*. "They who make ablutions in the lake of *Aṣru tirt'ha* (says the Hindu writer) are purified from their sins, and exempt from worldly affections, ascending after death to the heavenly VISHNU; and they who worship the Deity at *Ródana-st'hán*, enjoy heavenly bliss, without being subject to any future transmigration." No lake in the world, except that of *Mæris*, corresponds, both in name and in circumstances, with that of *Aṣru-tirt'ha*, and the island in the midst of it, which was also callen *Mérhi*, or *Mérhi-st'hán*, from the name of the prince who consecrated it. The two statues on it were said by the *Greeks* to be those of MOERIS and his Queen; but they appear from the *Purānas* to have been those of VISHNU, or OSIRIS, and of MA'RISHA', the mother of MOERIS; unless the image of the God was considered in substance as that of the departed king, who, in the language of the *Hindu* theologians, was wholly *absorbed* in the divine essence. Three lakes, in the countries adjacent to the *Nile*, have names in the *Purāns* derived from *aṣru*, or tears. First, *Só-cāṣru*, or *Tears of Sorrow*, another name for *Aṣru-tirt'ha*, or *Mæris*; secondly, *Herśhāṣru*, or *Tears of Joy*; and, thirdly, *Anandaṣru*, or *Tears of an inward pleasurable Sensation*; to both which belong legendary narratives in the *Purānas*. One of the infernal rivers was named *Aṣrumatì*, or the *Tearful*; but the first of them was *Vaitaranì*, where a boatman had been stationed to ferry

ferry over the souls of mortals into the region of YAMA. The word *vitaraṇa*, whence the name of the river is derived, alludes to the *fare* given for the passage over it.

III. We must now speak particularly of *Sanc'ha-dwīpa Proper*, or the *Island of Shells*, as the word literally signifies; for *Sanc'ha* means a sea-shell, and is generally applied to the large buccinum. The Red Sea, which abounds with shells of extraordinary size and beauty, was considered as part of the *Sanc'hābdhi*, or *Sanc'hōdadhi*; and the natives of the country before us wore large collars of shells, according to STRABO, both for ornament and as amulets. In the *Purānas*, however, it is declared, that the *dwīpa* had the appellation of *Sanc'ha* because *its inhabitants lived in shells*, or in caverns of rocks hollowed like shells, and with entrances like the mouths of them. Others insist, that the mountains themselves, in the hollows of which the people sought shelter, were no more than immense heaps of shells thrown on shore by the waves, and consolidated by time. The strange idea of an actual habitation in a shell was not unknown to the *Greeks*, who represent young NERITES, and one of the two CUPIDS, living in shells on the coasts of that very sea. From all circumstances collected, it appears, that *Sanc'ha-dwīpa*, in a confined sense, was the *Troglodytica* of the ancients, and included the whole western shore of the Red Sea; but that, in an extensive acceptation, it comprised all *Africa*. The *Troglodytes*, or *inhabitants of caves*, are called in Scripture also, *Sukīm*, because they dwelt in *fuca*s, or *dens*; but it is probable that the word *fuca*, which means a *den* only in a secondary sense, and signifies also an *arbour*, a *booth*, or a *tent*, was originally taken in the sense of a *cave*, from *Sanc'ha*; a name given by the first inhabitants of the *Troglodytica* to the rude places of shelter which they found or contrived in the mountains, and which bore some resemblance to the mouths of large *shells*. The word *Sanc'ha-dwīpa* has also
in

in some of the *Purânas* a sense yet more limited, and is restrained to the land inhabited by the snake *Sanc'ha-nâgâ*, which included the mountains of *Hubâb*, or the Serpent, and the *Abyssinian* kingdom of *Tigrè*. The same region is, however, sometimes called *Sanc'havana*, and is reported to be a wonderfully fine country, watered by noble rivers and streams, covered with forests of the most useful and beautiful trees, and a hundred *yôgans* in length, or 492 miles; a dimension which corresponds exactly enough with a line drawn from the southern limit of *Tigrè* to the northern extremity of the *Hubâb* Mountains. It lay between the *Cálicâ*, or *Câlâ*, and the sea. Its principal river was the *Sanc'ha-nêgâ*, now called *Máreb*; and its capital city, near the sea-shore, where the royal snake resided, had the name of *Cótimî*: not far from which was a part of the mountain *Dyutimân*, or *brilliant*, so called from the precious metals and gems with which it abounded.

In the *Dherma-sâstra*, both *Nâgas* and *Garudâs* are named as *races of men* descended from *ATRI*, concerning whom we shall presently speak more at large; but, in the language of mythology, the *Nâgas*, or *Uragas*, are large *serpents*; and the *Garudâs*, or *Supernas*, immense *birds*, which are either the *Condors* of *M. BUFFON*, and *Vulture Griffons* of *LINNÆUS*, called *Rokhs* by the *Arabian* fabulists, and by *MARCO POLO*, or mere creatures of imagination, like the *SÍMORG* of the *Persians*, whom *SADI* describes as receiving his daily allowance on the mountain of *Kâf*. Whatever be the truth, the legend of *Sanc'ha-nâgâ* and *Garudâ*, is told in the ancient books of the *Hindus*.

The King of Serpents formerly reigned in *Chacragiri*, a mountain very far to the eastward; but his subjects were obliged by the power of *GARUD'A* to supply that enormous bird with a snake each day. Their king at length refused to give the daily provision,

vision, and intercepted it himself, when it was sent by his serpentine race. This enraged GARUD'A, who threatened to devour the snakes and their king: nor would his menaces have been vain, if they had not all retired to *Sanc'ha-dwîp*, where they settled in *Sanc'ha-vana*, between the *Câlî* and the sea, near the station of SWA'MI CA'RTICE'YA, God of Arms, where they are supposed to live still unmolested, because GARUD'A dares not approach the mansion of that more powerful divinity. "They (says the *Indian* writer) who perform yearly and daily rites in honour of SANC'-HA-NA'GA will acquire immense riches." That royal serpent is also called *Sanc'ha-muc'ha*, because his mouth was like that of a shell; and the same denomination is given to the rocks on which he dwelt. The Mountains of Snakes are mentioned by the *Nubian* Geographer, and are to this day called *Hubâb*, which in *Arabick* means a snake in general, according to JAUHERI, and a particular species of serpent, according to MAIDA'NI. The same region was named *Ophiusa* by the *Greeks*, who sometimes extended that appellation to the whole *African* continent. The breath of *Sanc'ha-nâgâ* is believed by the *Hindus* to be a fiery poisonous wind, which burns and destroys animals and vegetables to the distance of a hundred *yôjans* round the place of his residence; and by this hypothesis they account for the dreadful effects of the *samûm*, or hot envenomed wind, which blows from the mountains of *Hubâb* through the whole extent of the Desert. Two *Rîshis*, or *Saints*, named AGASTI and A'STICA, undertook to stop so tremendous an evil. The first of them repaired for that purpose to *Sanc'ha-vana*, where he took his *abode* at a place thence called *Agastibhuvana*, near the sea-shore, and not from *Côtimî*; but the gentle means to which he had recourse with the royal snake proved ineffectual. A'STICA, by harsher measures, had more success; and made the snake (say the *Brâhmens*) not only tractable, but even well-disposed to all such as respectfully approached him.

him. He even reduced the size of the serpent so much, as to carry him about in an earthen vessel: and crowds of people are now said to worship him at the place of his residence near the river *Cáli*. This is, probably, the snake *HEREDI*, so famed throughout *Egypt*. The *Muselmans* insist that it is a *Shaikh* of that name transformed into a snake; the *Christians*, that it is *ASMODEUS*, mentioned in the book of *TOBIT*; the *Ashmúgh-dív* of the *Persian* romances; and the *Hindus* are equal to them in their superstitious notions. My learned friends at *Cási* inform me, that the sacred snake is at this day visited by travelling *Sannyásis*; but I cannot assert this as a fact, having never seen any *Hindu* who had travelled so far. Those whom I have seen, had never gone beyond the *Euphrates*: but they assured me, that they would have passed that river, if they had not been deterred by reports of disturbances among the *Arab* chiefs to the westward. The boldest religious adventurers among the *Sannyásis* are those from the north-west of *India*; for no native of *Bengal*, or, indeed, of the countries east of the *Ganges*, would now attempt (at least I never heard of any who had attempted) such perilous journies. As to the belief of the *Hindus*, that *A'STICA* put an effectual stop to the fiery breath of *Sanc'ha-nágà*, or the *Samùm*, it appears, from the relation of Mr. *BRUCE*, that the second public-spirited saint had no more success than the first.

We must observe, that *naga*, or *motionless*, is a *Sanscrit* name for a *mountain*; and that *nágà*, its regular derivative, signifies both a *mountain-snake* and a wild *elephant*: accordingly we read of an *elephant-king* in *Sanc'ha*, who reigned on the banks of the *Mareb*, thence called *Sanc'ha-nágà*; and when *CRISHNA* had slain both him and his subject elephants, their bones were heaped on the banks of the *Tacazzè*, which from that event had the name of *As'himatì*.

The other parts of *Sanc'ha-dwíp Proper*, adjacent to the sea, were inhabited by the subjects of SANC'HA'SURA, whose palace was a *shell* in the ocean: but they are said to have resided in *shells* on or near the mountains of the *African* continent. They are represented as cannibals, and even as demons incarnate, roaming by night, and plundering the flat country, from which they carried off men, women, and children, whom they devoured *alive*; that is, perhaps, as raw flesh is now eaten in *Abyssinia*. From this account it should seem, that the *Sanc'hafuras* lived in the caves of mountains along the coast, while their king resided in a cavern of the small island *Suakem*, where there still is a considerable town, in the middle of a large bay. He there, probably, concealed his plunder; and thence was reported to dwell in the ocean. The name of that island appears to have been derived from *Sukhîm*, the plural of *Sukh*, in *Hebrew*, and the *Sanc'h* of the *Hindus*. By the ancient geographers it is called both *Sukhæ*, and the *Harbour of preserving Gods*, from the *preservation*, I suppose, of *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, and its inhabitants, by the *divine* assistance of CRISHNA; who, with an army of deities, attacked and defeated SANC'HA'SURA, pursuing him even through the sea, where he drew the monster from his *shell*, and put him to death.

Besides these first inhabitants of *Sanc'ha-dwîpa*, who are described by the mythologists as *elephants*, *demons*, and *snakes*, we find a race, called *S'hanc'hâ-yanas*, who are the real *Troglodytes*, or *Shangalas*; for *la* is a regular termination of *Sanscrit* adjectives, as *Bhâgala*, fortunate; *Sinhala*, lion-like; *Bengala*, which properly means *belonging* to the country of *Benga*. They were descendants of ATRI, before named, whose history, being closely connected with that of the *Sacred Isles* in the west, deserves peculiar attention. He sprang (say the writers of the *Purânas*) from the mind of BRAHMA, who appointed him a *Prajâpati*, or *Lord of Creatures*, commanding him to produce a numerous
race,

race, and entrusting him with the *Védas*, which had existed eternally in the divine idea, that he might instruct his posterity in their civil and religious duties. ATRI first repaired to a western region, where he became the father of the lovely *Tubina-raśmi*, or with dewy beams. He thence passed into the country watered by the river *Sanc'ha-nágà*, where proceeding to the *Sanc'ha-muc'ha* hills, he sat on the *Swéta-giri*, or *White Mountain*, fixed in deep meditation on the author of his existence. His arrival was quickly known throughout the country; and the few inhabitants of it came to worship him, bringing even their wives and daughters, that they might bear children by so holy a personage: but his days and nights being wholly devoted to contemplation and sacred acts, his only time for dalliance was during the morning twilight. He became, however, the ancestor of a considerable nation, who were distributed, like other *Hindus*, into the sacerdotal, military, commercial, and servile classes.

His first born, *SANC'HA'YANA*, had a fair complexion, and great bodily strength; but was irreligious, turbulent, and libidinous, eating forbidden flesh, and living in the caverns of rocks. Nor were his brethren and their offspring better in the end than himself. Thus the *Jews*, who have borrowed many *Indian* fables, which were current, I suppose, among their neighbours, insist, in their *Talmud*, that *ADAM* begat none but demons till he was 150 years old, (a.) The pious patriarch, deeply afflicted by the vices of his children, expostulated with them long in vain; and seeing no remedy, contented himself with giving them the best advice; teaching them how to make more habitable caves in the mountains; *pallis*, or arbours under trees; and *ghóshas*, or inclosures, for their herds; permitting them to eat what they pleased; commanding them to dwell constantly on the mountains assigned to them,
and

(a) Eruvin, p. 18.

and to take particular care of the spot which their forefather inhabited, calling it from his name *Atri-st'hán*. After this arrangement, he left them, and went to the country near the *Sindhu*, or *Indus*, settling on the *Dévanicá* Mountains, where he avoided the *morning-twilight*, which had before been unprosperous, and produced a race eminent in virtue; for whom, when they multiplied, he built the famous city of *Nagara*, emphatically so called, and generally named *Déva-nagara*, which stood near the site of the modern *Cábul*.

Since the *Swéta-giri*, on which *Atri-st'hán* is declared to have stood, was at no great distance from the river *Sanc'ha-nágà*, it is most probably the same with the *Amba-tzaada*, or White Mountain, mentioned by Mr. BRUCE, who says, that it is the most considerable settlement of the *Shangalas*. It stands almost due north-west from *Dobarowa*, and is nearer by one-third to the *Mareb* than to the *Tacazzè*. The *pallis*, or arbours, of the *Shangalas* are fully described by Mr. BRUCE, in a manner entirely conformable to the descriptions of them in the *Puránas*, except that they are not said always to be covered with skins. The *Pális* of *India* live still in similar arbours during the greatest part of the year. That the *Sanc'háyanas* were the predecessors of the *Shangalas*, I have no doubt; though the former are said to have white complexions, and the latter to be black; for, not to insist that the climate alone would, in a long course of years, effect a change of complexion, it is probable that the race might be mixed, or that most of the old and genuine *Sanc'halas* might have been exterminated; and PLINY mentions a race of white *Ethiopians*, who lived to the west of the *Nile*, (a.) Though *Atri-st'hán* be applied in the *Puráns* to the country also of the *Sanc'háyanas*, as well as to the station of

ATRI,

(a) Lib. 5. Cap. 70.

ATRI, yet the regular derivative from his name is *A'tréyà*; and we find accordingly a part of *Ethiopia* named *Ætheria* by the *Greeks*, who called its inhabitants *Etherü*. And STRABO confines this appellation to a particular tribe, who seem to be the *Attiri* of PTOLEMY, and live near the confluence of the *Tacazzè* and the *Mareb*, (a). They were *A'tréyas*, or descended from ATRI: but the *Greeks*, as usual, referred a foreign epithet to a word in their own language. In the *Dionysiacks* of NONNUS we read of 'Αειθέρος Μερόης, which is translated *Meroë*, with *perpetual summer*; but surely the word can have no such meaning; and *Meroë* must have been so named, because it was once the capital of *Ætheria*, (b).

It appears from the *Puráns*, that the *Sanc'háyanas*, or old *Shangalas*, were not destitute of knowledge; and the *Bráhmens* admit that they possessed a part at least of the *Védas*.

IV. The history of the *Cútíla-cétas*, or men with *curled-hair*, is disguised in the following legend. SAGARA, an ancient monarch, who gave his name to the *ságara*, or *ocean*, was going to perform the *A'swa-médha*, or *sacrifice of a horse*; when INDRA descended, and stole the victim, which he conveyed to a place near the mouth of the *Gangà*, where the sage CAPILA was intent on his religious austerities. The God of the Firmament there tied the horse by the side of the holy man, and retired unperceived by him. The monarch, missing the consecrated horse, dispatched his *sixty thousand* sons, or descendants, in search of him. They roved over the whole earth, and finding him at last near the mansion of CAPILA, accused him of the sacrilege, and began to treat him with violence; but a flame issued from the eyes of the saint, which consumed them all in an instant. Their father,

(a) Strabo, B. 11. p. 32.

(b) Dionys. B. 17. v. 396.

father, being apprised of their death, sent an army against CAPILA, who stood fixed to receive them; and, when they approached, unbound his *jatà*, or long plaited hair, and, giving it a twist, struck the ground twice or thrice with it, casting an oblique glance of contempt on his adversaries. In that moment an army of men, with *curled hair*, sprang from the earth, attacked the legions of SAGARA, and defeated them. After their victory, they returned to the sage, asking who they were, and demanding a fit place of abode. CAPILA told them, that they were *Jatápat*, or produced by the fall of his locks on the ground; that from the side look which he had cast on his enemies, their hair was *cutíla*, or crisp; that they should thence be called *Cutílas* and *Cutílas-céfas*; that they must be *yát'hata'hyas*, or live as they were when produced by him; that is, always prepared for just war; that they must repair to *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, and form a settlement, in which they would encounter many difficulties, and be continually harrassed by bad neighbours; but that, when CRISHNA should overpower and destroy SANC'HA'SURA, he would establish their empire, and secure it from future molestation. They accordingly travelled through the interior *Cussha-dwípa*, where the greatest part of them chose to remain, and received afterwards a terrible overthrow from PARAŚU-RA'MA. The others passed into *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, and settled on the banks of the *Cáli*: but having revolted against DE'VANAUSHHA, they were almost wholly extirpated by that potent monarch.

Violent feuds had long subsisted between the family of GAUTAMA on one side, and those of VISWA-MITRA and JAMADAGNI on the other. The kings of *Cussha-dwíp* within took the part of GAUTAMA; and the *Haihayas*, a very powerful nation in that country, (whom I believe to have been *Persians*,) were inveterate against JAMADAGNI, whom they killed after defeating his army. Among the confederates in *Cussha-*
dwípa

dwīpa were the *Rómacas*, or dressed in *hair-cloth*; the *Sacas*, and a tribe of them called *Sacasénas*; the *Hindus* of the *Cshatriya* class, who then lived on the banks of the *Cacshus*, or *Oxus*; the *Párasīcas*, a nation beyond the *Nile*; the *Barbaras*, or people of *Nubia*; the inhabitants of *Cámbója*; the *Cirátas* and *Haritas*, two tribes of the *Pális*; and the *Yavanas*, or ancestors of the *Greeks*. These allies entered *India*, and defeated the troops of *VISWA'MITRA* in the country called *Yudha-bhúmi*, or the Land of War; now *Yehud*, between the *Indus* and the *Behat*.

PARÁSU-RA'MA, the son of *JAMADAGNI*, but supposed afterwards to have been a *portion* of the divine essence in a human form, was enraged at the success of the confederates, and circulated a publick declaration, that *NA'RED* had urged him to extirpate them entirely; assuring him, that the people of *Cusha-dwīpa*, who dwelt in the hollows of mountains, were *cravyádas*, or *carnivorous*; and that their King *CRAVYA'DA'DHIPETI*, or *Chief Ruler of Cannibals*, had polluted both *earth* and *water*, which were two of the eight forms of *I'sa*, with the mangled limbs and blood of the strangers, whom he and his abominable subjects had cruelly devoured. After this proclamation, *PARÁSU-RA'MA* invaded *Cusha-dwīp*, and attacked the army of *CRAVYA'DA'DHIPETI*, who stepped from the ranks, and challenged him to single combat. They began with hurling rocks at each other; and *RA'MA* was nearly crushed under a mountain thrown by his adversary; but, having disengaged himself, he darted huge serpents, which enfolded the giant in an inextricable maze, and at length destroyed him. The blood of the monster formed the *Lohita-c'hamda*; and that of his army, the *Lohitódá*, or river with bloody waters. It is, I believe, the *Adonis* of the ancients, now called *Nahru Ibráhīm*, the waters of which, at certain seasons of the year, have a sanguine tint. I suppose *CRAVYA'DA'DHIPETI* to be the *LYCURGUS*

EDONOS of the *Greeks*, who reigned in *Palestine*, and in the country around *Damascus*. His friend CAICE'YA, whom the *Greeks* called ORONTES, renewed the fight, and was also slain. Then came the King of the *Cutila-césas*, and MAHA'SYA'MA, ruler of the *Syáma-muc'has*, and usually residing in *Arva-st'hán*, or *Arabia*; the former of whom I conceive to be BLEMYS; and the second ARABUS, whom the *Greek* Mythologists also named OROBANDAS and ORUANDES. They fought a long time with valour, but were defeated; and, on their humiliating themselves, and imploring forgiveness, were allowed to retire, with the remains of their army, to the banks of the *Cálì*, where they settled; while PARA'SU-RA'MA, having terminated the war in *Cusha-dwípa*, returned to his own country, where he was destined to meet with adventures yet more extraordinary.

This legend is told nearly in the same manner by the poet NONNUS, a native of *Egypt*; who says, that, after the defeat of LYCURGUS, the *Arabs* yielded, and offered sacrifices to BACCHUS; a title corrupted from BHAGAVAT, or the *preserving power*, of which a ray or *portion* had become incarnate in the person of PARA'SU-RA'MA. He relates, that “ BLEMYS, with curled-
 “ hair, chief of the ruddy or *Erythrean Indians*, held
 “ up a bloodless olive branch with the supplicating
 “ troops, and bowed a servile knee to DIONYSOS, who
 “ had slain his *Indian* subjects; that the God, behold-
 “ ing him bent to the ground, took him by the hand,
 “ and raised him; but conveyed him, together with
 “ his many-tongued people, far from the dark *Ery-*
 “ *threan Indians* (since he abhorred the government
 “ and manners of DERIADEUS) to the skirt of *Arabia*;
 “ that he, near the contiguous ocean, dwelt in the
 “ happy region, and gave a name to the inhabitants of
 “ its towns; but that rapid BLEMYS passed onward to
 “ the mouth of the *Nile* with seven branches, destined
 “ to be contemporary ruler over the people of *Ethiopia*;
 “ that

“ that the low ground of *Etherian Meroë* received him
 “ as a chief, who should leave his name to the *Blemyes*
 “ born in subsequent ages, (a).”

The emigration of the *Cutila-céfas* from *India* to *Egypt*, is mentioned likewise by PHILOSTRATUS in his life of APOLLONIUS. When that singular man visited the *Bráhmens* who lived on the hills to the north of *Srí-nagara*, at a place now called *Trilocí-náráyana*, near the banks of the *Cédára-gangà*, the chief *Brahman*, whom he calls IARCHAS, gave him the following relation concerning the origin of the *Ethiopians*.
 “ They resided (said he) formerly in this country,
 “ under the dominion of a king named GANGES; du-
 “ ring whose reign the Gods took particular care of
 “ them, and the earth produced abundantly whatever
 “ was necessary for their subsistence; but, having slain
 “ their king, they were considered by other *Indians* as
 “ defiled and abominable. Then the seeds which they
 “ committed to the earth rotted; their women had
 “ constant abortions; their cattle was emaciated; and,
 “ wherever they began to build places of abode, the
 “ ground sunk, and their houses fell. The spirit of
 “ the murdered king incessantly haunted them, and
 “ would not be appeased until the actual perpetrators
 “ of the murder had been buried alive; and even then
 “ the earth forbade them to remain longer in this coun-
 “ try. Their sovereign, a son of the river *Ganges*,
 “ was near ten cubits high, and the most majestic
 “ personage that ever appeared in the form of man.
 “ His father had once very nearly overflowed all *India*;
 “ but he directed the course of the waters towards
 “ the sea, and rendered them highly beneficial to the
 “ land; the goddesses of which supplied him, while he
 “ lived, with abundance, and fully avenged his death,
 “ (b).” The basis of this tale is unquestionably
 VOL. III. A a Indian,

(a) Dionysiac. B. 17. v. 385—397.

(b) Philostr. Apollon. B. 3. ch. 6.

Indian, though it be clearly corrupted in some particulars. No *Bráhmén* was ever named *Iarchas*, which may be a corruption of *Arsha*, or *Arcsha*, or, possibly, of *YASCA*, the name of a sage, who wrote a glossary for the *Védas*: nor was the *Ganges* ever considered as a *male* deity; but the son of *GANGA'*, or *GA'NGE'YA*, was a celebrated hero. According to the *Hindu* legends, when *CAPILA* had destroyed the children of *SAGARA*, and his army of *Cútíla-céfas* had migrated to another *dwípa*, the *Indian* monarch was long inconsolable; but his great grandson *BHAGÍRAT'HA*, conducted the present *Ganges* to the spot where the ashes of his kindred lay; and they were no sooner touched by the divine water, than the sixty thousand princes sprang to life again. Another story is, that, when the *Ganges*, and other great rivers, were swoln to such a degree, that the Goddess of Earth was apprehensive of a general inundation, *BHAGÍRAT'HA* (leaving other holy men to take care of inferior rivers) led the *Ganges* (from him named *Bhágírat'hì*) to the ocean, and rendered her salutary to the earth, instead of destructive to it. These tales are obviously the same in substance with that told by *IARCHAS*, but with some variations, and additional circumstances. *APOLLONIUS* most certainly had no knowledge of the *Indian* language; nor is it, on the whole, credible, that he was ever in *India* or *Ethiopia*, or even at *Babylon*. He never wrote an account of his travels: but the sophist *PHILOSTRATUS*, who seems to have had a particular design in writing the history of his life, might have possessed valuable materials, by the occasional use of which he imposed more easily on the publick. Some traveller might have conversed with a set of ignorant *Sannyásis*, who had (what most of them now have) an imperfect knowledge of ancient legends concerning the *Déváats*: and the description which *PHILOSTRATUS* gives of the place in the hills, where the supposed *Bráhméns* resided, corresponds exactly with a place called *Trilóci-náráyana* in the

Puráns,

Purāns, which has been described to me from the information of *Sannyāsīs*, who ignorantly called it *Triyōginārāyan*; but for a particular account of it, I must refer to a geographical and historical description of the *Ganges*, and the countries adjacent to it, which I have nearly completed.

The people named *Cūtila-cēsas* are held by some *Brāhmens* to be the same with the *Hāsyaśīlas*, or at least a branch of them; and some suppose that the *Hāsyaśīlas* are the before mentioned remnant of the *Cūtila-cēsas*, who first settled on the banks of the *Nile*, and, after their expulsion from *Egypt* by DE'VA-NAHUSHA, were scattered over the *African* deserts. The *Gaituli*, or *Gaityli*, were of old the most powerful nation in *Africa*; and I should suppose them to be the descendants of the first *Cutilas*, or *Cutils*, (for so they are frequently called, especially in conversation,) who settled first near the *Cālī* river, and were also named *Hāsyaśīlas*: but they must have dwelt formerly in *Bengal*, if there be any historical basis for the legend of *CAPILA*, who was performing acts of religious austerity at the mouth of the *Ganges*, near old *Sāgar*, or *Gangā*, in the *Sunderbans*. They were black, and had curled hair, like the *Egyptians* in the time of *HERODOTUS*: but at present there are no such negroes in *India*, except in the *Andaman* Islands, which are now said to be peopled by cannibals, as they were, according to *PTOLEMY*, at least eighteen hundred years ago. From *Andaman* the *Greeks* made *Eudaimon*, and conceived it to be the residence of a good *Genius*. It is certain, that very ancient statues of *Gods* in *India* have crisp hair, and the features of negroes. Some have caps, or tiaras, with curls depending over their foreheads, according to the precise meaning of the epithet *Cutilālaca*. Others, indeed, seem to have their locks curled by art, and braided above in a thick knot; but I have seen many idols on which the woolly appearance of the hair was so well represented as to preclude all

A a 2

doubt;

doubt; and we may naturally suppose that they were made by the *Cútíla-céfas* when they prevailed in this country. The *Bráhmens* ascribe these idols to the *Bauddhas*; and nothing can hurt them more, than to say that any of their own Gods had the figure of *Habashis*, or Negroes: and even the hair of BUDDHA himself, for whom they have no small degree of respect, they consider as twisted in braids, like that of some modern *Sannyásis*: but this will not account for the thick lips and flat noses of those ancient images: nor can it reasonably be doubted, that a race of negroes formerly had power and pre-eminence in *India*. In several parts of *India*, the mountaineers have still some resemblance to negroes in their countenance and hair, which is curled, and has a tendency to wool. It is very probable that, by intermarriages with other outcasts, who have black complexions, but straight hair, they have changed in a course of ages, like the *Cútíla-céfas*, or old *Egyptians*: for the modern *Copts* are far from answering to the description given by HERODOTUS; and their features differ considerably from those of the mummies, and of ancient statues brought from *Egypt*, whence it appears that their ancestors had large eyes with a long slit, projecting lips, and folded ears of a remarkable size.

V. Of the *Syáma-muc'has*, who migrated from *India*, the origin is not yet perfectly known; but their faces were black, and their hair straight, like that of the *Hindus* who dwell on the plains. They were, I believe, the *straight-haired Ethiops* of the ancients, (a;) and their king, surnamed MAHA'SYA'MA, or the *Great Black*, was probably the king ARABUS, mentioned by the *Greek* mythologists, who was contemporary with NINUS. They were much attached to the *Cútíla-céfas*, whence we may infer, that the religious tenets of the two nations were nearly the same. It is believed that they were the first inhabitants of *Arva-st'hán*, or *Arabia*; but

(a) Ἰθὺ τριχῆς. Herod. Polyhymn.

but passed thence into *Africk*, and settled on the banks of the *Nile*. The part of *Egypt* which lies to the east of that river, is by some considered as part of *Arabia*; and the people who lived between the *Mediterranean* and *Meroë*, were by JUBA said to be *Arabs*.

VI. The first origin of the *Dánavas*, or Children of DANU, is as little known as that of the tribe last mentioned; but they came into *Egypt* from the west of *India*; and their leader was BELI, thence named DÁ-NAVE'NDRA, who lived at the time when the *Padma-mandira* was erected on the banks of the *Cumudavati*. The *Dánavas*, whom he governed, are frequently mentioned in the *Puránas* among the inhabitants of countries adjacent to the *Cáli*.

As to the *Strí-rájya*, or country governed by women, the *Hindus* assert, that the sovereign of it was always a Queen; and that all her officers, civil and military, were females; while the great body of the nation lived as in other countries; but they have not in this respect carried the extravagance of fable to the same pitch with the *Greeks* in their accounts of the *Amazons*. It is related in the *Mallári Máhátmya* that when RA'VANA was apprehensive of being totally defeated, he sent his wives to distant countries, where they might be secure: that they first settled on the *Indian* peninsula, near the site of *Srírangapattana*, or *Seringapatnam*; but that being disturbed in that station, part of them proceeded to the north of *Dwáracà*, in *Gujarát*, and part into *Sanc'ha-dwípa*, where they formed a government of women, whence their settlement was called *Strí-rájya*. It was on the sea-shore, near the *Cula* Mountains, extending about forty *yójanas* in length, and surrounded by low swampy grounds, named *Jalabhúmi*, in *Sanscrit*, and *Daldal* in the vulgar idiom. *Strí-rájya*, therefore, must be the country of *Sabá*, now *Affab*, which was governed by a celebrated Queen, and the land round which has to this day the name

name of *Taltal*. The *Cula* Mountains are that range which extends from *Dobarowa* (the *Coloë* of the ancient geographers) to the source of the *Tacazzè*, which *PTOLEMY* calls the Marsh of *Coloë*; a word which I suppose to be derived from the *Sanfcrit*.

VII. *YAVANA* is a regular participial form of the root *yu*, to *mix*; so that *yavana*, like *miśra*, might have signified no more than a *mingled* people: but since *yōni*, or the *female nature*, is also derived from the same root, many *Pandits* insist that the *Yavanas* were so named from their obstinate assertion of a superior influence in the *female* over the *linga*, or *male nature*, in producing a perfect offspring. It may seem strange that a question of mere physiology should have occasioned not only a vehement religious contest, but even a bloody war; yet the fact appears to be historically true; though the *Hindu* writers have dressed it up, as usual, in a veil of extravagant allegories and mysteries, which we should call obscene, but which they consider as awfully sacred. They represent *NA'RA'YANA* moving (as his name implies) *on the waters*, in the character of the *first male*, and the *principle* of all nature, which was wholly surrounded in the beginning by *Tamas*, or *Darkness*, the *Chaos* and primordial *Night* of the *Greek* mythologists; and, perhaps, the *Thaumaz*, or *Thamas*, of the ancient *Egyptians*. The *Chaos* is also called *PRACRĪTI*, or crude Nature; and the male deity has the name of *PURUSHA*, from whom proceeded *Saṭi*, or *power*, which, when it is ascribed to the earth, in contradistinction to the waters, is denominated *A'hāra S'aṭi*, or, the *power of containing* or *conceiving*; but that *power*, in its first state, was rather a *tendency* or *aptitude*, and lay dormant, or inert, until it was excited by the *bīja*, or vivifying principle of the plastick *I'swara*. This *power*, or *aptitude*, of nature, is represented under the symbol of the *yōni*, or *bhaga*, while the *animating principle* is expressed by the *linga*. Both are united by the creative power, *BRAHMA*; and the *yōni* have been called
the

the *navel* of VISHNU; not identically, but nearly; for though it is held, in the *Védánta*, that the Divine Spirit penetrates or pervades all nature, and though the *Sacti* be considered as an emanation from that Spirit, yet the emanation is never wholly detached from its source, and the penetration is never so perfect as to become a total union or identity. In another point of view, BRAHMA corresponds with the *Chronos*, or Time, of the *Greek* mythologists: for through him generations pass on successively; ages and periods are by him put in motion, terminated, and renewed, while he dies and springs to birth alternately; his existence or energy continuing for a hundred of *his* years, during which he produces and devours all beings of less longevity. VISHNU represents *Water*, or the humid principle; and I'SWARA, *Fire*, which recreates or destroys, as it is differently applied. PRIT'HIVÍ, or *Earth*, and RAVI, or the *Sun*, are severally *trimúrtis*, or *forms* of the *three* great powers acting jointly and separately, but with different natures and energies; and by their mutual action, excite and expand the rudiments of material substances. The word *múrti*, or form, is exactly synonymous with εἶδωλον; and, in a secondary sense, means an image: but in its primary acceptation it denotes any *shape* or *appearance* assumed by a celestial being. Our *vital souls* are, according to the *Védánta*, no more than images, or εἶδωλα, of the *Supreme Spirit*; and HOMER places the *idol* of HERCULES in *Elysium* with other deceased heroes, though the God himself was at the same time enjoying bliss in the heavenly mansions. Such a *múrti*, say the *Hindus*, can by no means affect with any sensation, either pleasing or painful, the being from which it emanated; though it may give pleasure or pain to collateral emanations from the same source: hence they offer no sacrifices to the Supreme Essence, of which our own souls are *images*, but adore him with silent meditation; while they make frequent *homás*, or *oblations* to fire, and perform acts of worship to the *Sun*, the *Stars*, the *Earth*, and the powers of

of *Nature*, which they consider as *múrtis*, or images, the same in kind with ourselves, but transcendently higher in degree. The Moon is also a great object of their adoration; for, though they consider the Sun and Earth as the two grand agents in the system of the universe, yet they know their reciprocal action to be greatly affected by the influence of the lunar orb according to their several aspects, and seem even to have an idea of *attraction* through the whole extent of nature. This system was known to the ancient *Egyptians*; for, according to DIODORUS, (a,) their VULCAN, or *elemental fire*, was the great and powerful deity whose influence contributed chiefly toward the generation and perfection of natural bodies; while the ocean, by which they meant *water* in a collective sense, afforded the nutriment that was necessary; and the *Earth* was the vase, or capacious receptacle, in which this grand operation of nature was performed: hence ORPHEUS described the Earth as the *universal Mother*; and this is the true meaning of the *Sanscrit* word *Ambá*. Such is the system of those *Hindus* who admit an equal concurrence of the two principles: but the declared followers of VISHNU profess very different opinions from those adopted by the votaries of I'SWARA. Each sect, also, is subdivided according to the *degree* of influence which some of them allow to be possessed by that principle, which on the whole they depreciate: but the pure *Vaishnavas* are, in truth, the same with the *Yónijas*, of whom we shall presently give a more particular account.

This diversity of opinion seems to have occasioned the general war which is often mentioned in the *Puránas*, and was celebrated by the poets of the West as the basis of the *Grecian* mythology: I mean that between the Gods, led by JUPITER, and the Giants, or *Sons of the Earth*, or, in other words, between the followers of I'SWARA and the *Yónijas*, or men produced, as they asserted, by PRIT'HI-

VI,

(a) Diod. Sic. B. 1.

VI, a *power* or *form* of VISHNU; for NONNUS expressly declares (a) that the war in question arose between the partizans of JUPITER and those *who acknowledged no other Deities but Water and Earth*. According to both NONNUS and the *Hindu* mythologists, it began in *India*, whence it was spread over the whole globe; and all mankind appear to have borne a part in it.

These religious and phyfiological contests were disguised in *Egypt* and *India* under a veil of the wildest allegories and emblems. On the banks of the *Nile*, OSIRIS was torn in pieces; and on those of the *Ganges*, the limbs of his consort I'sí, or SATÌ, were scattered over the world, giving names to the places where they fell, and where they still are superstitiously worshipped. In the book entitled *Mahá calá sañhitá*, we find the *Grecian* story concerning the wanderings of DAMATER and the lamentations of BACCHUS; for I'sWARA, having been mutilated, through the imprecations of some offended *Munis*, rambled over the whole earth, bewailing his misfortune: while I'sí wandered also through the world, singing mournful ditties in a state of distraction. There is a legend in the *Servarasa*, of which the figurative meaning is more obvious. When SATÌ, after the close of her existence as the daughter of DACSHA, sprang again to life in the character of PA'RVATÍ, or *Mountain Born*, she was reunited in marriage to MAHA'DE'VA. This divine pair had once a dispute on the comparative influence of the sexes in producing animated beings, and each resolved, by mutual agreement, to create apart a new race of men. The race produced by MAHA'DE'VA was very numerous, and devoted themselves exclusively to the worship of the male deity; but their intellects were dull, their bodies feeble, their limbs distorted, and their complexions of different hues. PA'RVATÍ had at the same time created a multitude of

(a) Dionys. B. 34. v. 241.

of human beings, who adored the female power only, and were all well shaped, with sweet aspects, and fine complexions. A furious contest ensued between the two races, and the *Lingajas* were defeated in battle. But MAHA'DE'VA, enraged against the *Yónijas*, would have destroyed them with the fire of his eye, if PA'RVATÌ had not interposed, and appeased him: but he would spare them only on condition that they should instantly leave the country, with a promise to see it no more; and from the *yóni*, which they adored as the sole cause of their existence, they were named *Yavanas*. It is said, in another passage, that they sprang from the cow S'AVILA'; but that cow was an incarnation of the goddess I'sí; and here we find the *Egyptian* legend adopted by the *Greeks* of Io and Isis. After their expulsion, they settled, according to the *Puránas*, partly on the borders of *Varahá-dwíp*, and partly in the two *dwípas* of CUSHA, where they supported themselves by predatory excursions and piracy, and used to conceal their booty in the long grass of *Cusha-dwíp within*: but PA'RVATÌ constantly protected them; and, after the severe punishment of their revolt against DE'VA-NAHUSH, or DIONYSIUS, gave them a fine country, where in a short time they became a flourishing nation. Those *Yavanas* who remained in the land of CUSHA, and on the banks of the *Cálì*, were perhaps the *Hellenick* shepherds mentioned in *Egyptian* history; and it is probable that great part of those who had revolted against DIONYSIUS, retired, after their defeat, into *Greece*. All the old founders of colonies in that country had come originally from *Egypt*; and even the *Athenians* admitted that their ancestors formerly resided in the districts round *Saïs*.

It is evident that the strange tale in the *Servarasa* was invented to establish the opinion of the *Yónyan-citas*, or votaries of DE'ví, that the good shape, strength, and courage of animals, depend on the su-
perior

perior influence of the female parent, whose powers are only excited, and put into action, by the male *aura*: but the *Lingáncitas* maintain an opposite doctrine; and the known superiority of mules begotten by horses over those which are brought forth by mares, appears to confirm their opinion, which might also be supported by many other examples from the animal and vegetable worlds. There is a sect of *Hindus*, by far the most numerous of any, who, attempting to reconcile the two systems, tell us, in their allegorical style, that PA'RVATÌ and MAHA'DE'VA found their concurrence essential to the perfection of their offspring; and that VISHNU, at the request of the Goddesses, effected a reconciliation between them: hence the *navel* of VISHNU, by which they mean the *os tincæ*, is worshipped as one and the same with the sacred *yóni*. This emblem too was *Egyptian*; and the mystery seems to have been solemnly typified, in the temple of JUPITER AMMON, by the vast *umbilicus* made of stone, and carried, by eighty men, in a *boat*, which represented the *ossa navicularis*. Such, I believe, was the mystical *boat* of Isis, which, according to LACTANTIUS, was adored in *Egypt*, (a.) We are assured by TACITUS, that the *Suevi*, one of the oldest and most powerful *German* nations, worshipped Isis in the form of a ship: and the *Chaldeans* insisted that the *Earth*, which, in the *Hindu* system, represents PA'RVATÌ, was shaped and hollowed like an immense *boat*. From *Egypt* the type was imported into *Greece*; and an *umbilicus* of white marble was kept at *Delphi*, in the sanctuary of the temple, where it was carefully wrapt up in cloath, (b.) The mystical *boat* is called also, by *Greek* mythologists, the *cup* of the Sun, in which HERCULES, they say, traversed the Ocean; and this HERCULES, according to them, was the son of JUPITER: but the *Greeks*, by whom the notion of an *avatára*, or *descent* of a god in a human form, had not

(a) Lactant. Divin. Instit. L. 1. C. 2. (b) Strabo, B. 9. 420.

not been generally adopted, considered those as the *sons*, whom the *Hindus* consider as *incarnate rays* or *portions* of their several deities. Now JUPITER was the I'SWARA of the *Hindus*, and the OSIRIS of the *Egyptians*; and HERCULES was an *avatára* of the same divinity, who is figured, among the ruins of *Luxorein*, in a *boat*, which eighteen men bear on their shoulders. The *Indians* commonly represent this mystery of their physiological religion by the emblem of a *Nymphæa*, or *Lotos*, *floating like a boat* on the boundless ocean; where the whole plant signifies both the Earth, and the two principles of its fecundation. The *germ* is both *Méru* and the *linga*: the *petals* and *filaments* are the mountains which encircle *Méru*, and are also a type of the *yóni*; the leaves of the *calyx* are the *four* vast regions to the cardinal points of *Méru*: and the *leaves* of the plants are the *dwípas*, or isles, round the land of *Jambu*. Another of their emblems is called *Argha*, which means a *cup*, or *dish*, or any other *vessel* in which *fruit* and *flowers* are offered to the deities, and which ought always to be *shaped like a boat*; though we now see *arghas* of many different forms, oval, circular, or square; and hence it is that I'SWARA has the title of *Arghanát'ha*, or the *Lord of the boat-shaped vessel*. A rim round the *argha* represents the mysterious *yóni*; and the *navel* of VISHNU is commonly denoted by a convexity in the centre, while the contents of the vessel are symbols of the *linga*. This *argha*, as a type of the *ádhára-śacti*, or *power of conception*, excited and vivified by the *linga*, or *Phallus*, I cannot but suppose to be one and the same with the ship *Argo*, which was built, according to ORPHEUS, by JUNO and PALLAS, and according to APOLLONIUS, by PALLAS and ARGUS, at the instance of JUNO, (a.) The word *Yóni*, as it is usually pronounced, nearly resembles the name of the principal *Hetruscan* Goddess; and the *Sanscrit* phrase *Arghanát'ha* I'SWARA seems accurately rendered by

PLUTARCH,

(a) Orph. Argon. v. 66. Apoll. Rhod. B. 2. v. 1190.

PLUTARCH, when he asserts that OSIRIS was commander of the *Argo*, (a.) I cannot yet affirm, that the words *p'hala*, or *fruit*, and *p'hulla*, or a *flower*, had ever the sense of *Phallus*: but fruit and flowers are the chief oblations in the *argha*; and *trip'hala* is a name sometimes given, especially in the west of *India*, to the *trifúla*, or trident, of MAHA'DE'VA. In an Essay on the Geographical Antiquities of *India*, I shall show that the JUPITER *Triphylius* of the *Panchæan* Islands was no other than SIVA holding a *trip'hala*, who is represented also with *three eyes*, to denote a triple energy; as VISHNU and PRIT'HIVÍ are severally typified by an equilateral *triangle*, (which likewise gives an idea of *capacity*;) and conjointly, when their powers are supposed to be combined, by two such equal triangles intersecting each other.

The three sects which have been mentioned, appear to have been distinct also in *Greece*. 1. According to THEODORET, ARNOBIUS, and CLEMENS of *Alexandria*, the *Yóni* of the *Hindus* was the sole object of veneration in the mysteries of *Eleusis*. When the people of *Syracuse* were sacrificing to goddesses, they offered cakes in a certain shape, called *μύλλοι*; and in some temples, where the priestesses were probably ventriloquists, they so far imposed on the credulous multitude, who came to adore the *yóni*, as to make them believe that it spoke, and gave oracles. 2. The rites of the *Phallus* were so well known among the *Greeks*, that a metre, consisting of three torches only, derived its name from them. In the opinion of those who compiled the *Puránas*, the *Phallus* was first publicly worshipped, by the name of *Báléswara-linga*, on the banks of the *Camudvatí*, or *Euphrates*: and the *Jews*, according to Rabbi AEHA, seem to have had some such idea, as we may collect from their strange tale concerning the different earths which formed the body of ADAM, (b.) The middle sect, however, which

(a) Plut. on *Isis* and *Osiris*.

(b) Gemara Sanhedrin, C. 30. cited by *Reland*.

which is now prevalent in *India*, was generally diffused over ancient *Europe*; and was introduced by the *Pelargi*, who were the same, as we learn from *HERODOTUS*, with the *Pelasgi*. The very word *Pelargos* was probably derived from *P'hala* and *Argha*, those mysterious types, which the latter mythologists disguised under the names of *PALLAS* and *ARGO*; and this conjecture is confirmed by the rites of a deity, named *PELARGA*, who was worshipped near *Thebes* and *Bæotia*, and to whom, says *PAUSANIAS*, no victim was offered, but *a female recently covered and impregnated*; a cruel sacrifice, which the *Indian* law positively forbids, but which clearly shows the character of the goddesses to whom it was thought acceptable. We are told that her parents were *POTNEUS* and *ISTHMIAS*, or *BACCHUS* and *INO*, (for the *Baccantes* were called also *Potniades*,) by whom we cannot but understand *OSIRIS* and *ISIS*, or the *I'SWARA* and *I'si* of the *Hindus*. The three words *ambà*, *nábhi*, and *argha*, seem to have caused great confusion among the *Greek* mythologists, who even ascribed to the earth all the fanciful shapes of the *argha*, which was intended at first as a mere emblem: hence they represented it in the shape of a *boat*, of a *cup*, or of a quoit with a boss in the centre, sloping towards the circumference where they placed the ocean. Others described it as a square or a parallelogram, (*a*;) and *Greece* was supposed to lie on the summit, with *Delphi* in the navel, or central part of the whole, (*b*;) as the *Jews*, and even the first *Christians*, insisted that the true navel of the earth was *Jerusalem*; and as the *Muselmans* hold *Mecca* to be the mother of cities, and the *nâfi zemîn*, or earth's navel. All these notions appear to have arisen from the worship of which we have been treating. The *yóni* and *nábhi*, or navel, are together denominated *ambà*, or mother; but gradually the words *ambà*, *nábhi*, and *argha*, have become synonymous: and

as

as ἀμῖν and *umbo* seem to be derived from *ambā*, or the circular *argha*, with a boss like a target, so ὀμφαλός and *umbilicius* apparently spring from the same root: and even the word *navel*, though originally *Gothick*, was the same anciently with *nābhi* in *Sanscrit*, and *nāf* in *Persian*. The sacred *ancilia*, one of which was revered as the *Palladium* of *Rome*, were probably types of a similar nature to the *argha*; and the shields which used to be suspended in temples, were possibly votive *ambās*. At *Delphi* the mystick *Omphalos* was continually celebrated in hymns as a sacred pledge of divine favour, and the *navel of the world*. Thus the mystick boat was held by some of the first emigrants from *Asia* to be their palladium, or pledge of safety, and as such was carried by them in their various journeys; whence the poets feigned that the *ARGO* was borne over mountains on the shoulders of the *Argonauts*. I know how differently these ancient emblems of the *Hindus*, the *lotos* and mount *Méru*, the *argha*, or sacred vessel, and the name *Arghanāt'ha*, would have been applied by Mr. BRYANT; but I have examined both applications without prejudice, and adhere to my own as the more probable, because it corresponds with the known rites and ceremonies of the *Hindus*, and is confirmed by the oldest records of their religion.

Such have been, according to the *Purānas*, the various emigrations from *India* to *Cusha-dwīp*; and hence part of *Africa* was called *India* by the *Greeks*. The *Nile*, says THEOPHYLACT, flows through *Lybia*, *Ethiopia*, and *India*, (a). The people of *Mauritania* are said, by STRABO, to have been *Indians*, or *Hindus*, (b;) and *Abyssina* was called *Middle India* in the time of MARCO PAOLO. Where OVID speaks of ANDROMEDA, he asserts, that she came from *India*; but we shall show, in another Section, that the scene of her adventures

(a) B. 7. C. 17.

(b) B. 17. p. 828.

adventures was the region adjacent to the *Nile*. The country between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* had the names both of *India* and *Ethiopia*. Even *Arachosia* is called *White India* by ISIDORUS: and we have already mentioned the *Yellow India* of the *Persian*, and the *Yellow Indians* of the *Turkish* geographers. The most venerable emigrants from *India* were the *Yádavas*: they were the *blameless* and pious *Ethiopians* whom HOMER mentions, and calls the *remotest* of mankind. Part of them, say the old *Hindu* writers, remained in this country; and hence we read of two *Ethiopian* nations, the Western and the Oriental. Some of them lived far to the east; and they are the *Yádavas* who stayed in *India*; while others resided far to the west, and they are the sacred race, who settled on the shores of the *Atlantick*. We are positively assured by HERODOTUS, that the oriental *Ethiopians* were *Indians*; and hence we may infer, that *India* was known to the *Greeks*, in the age of HOMER, by the name of Eastern *Ethiopia*. They could not then have known it by the appellation of *India*; because that word, whatever may be its original meaning, was either framed or corrupted by the *Persians*, with whom, as long as their monarchs remained satisfied with their own territories, the *Greeks* had no sort of connection. They called it also the land of *Panchæa*; but knew so little of it, that, when they heard of *India*, through their intercourse with the *Persians*, they supposed it to be quite a different country. In *Persian*, the word *Hindu* means both an *Indian*, and any thing *black*; but whether, in the latter sense, it be used metaphorically, or was an adjective in the old language of *Persia*, I am unable to ascertain. It appears from the book of ESTHER, that *India* was known to the *Hebrews* in *Persia* by the name of *Hodu*, which has some resemblance to the word *Yadu*, and may have been only a corruption of it. *Hindu* cannot regularly be derived, as an *English* writer has suggested, from a *Sanscrit* name of the Moon, since that name is INDU; but it may be corrupted from

Sindhu,

Sindhu, or the *Indus*, as a learned *Bráhmaṇ* has conjectured; for the hissing letter is often changed into an aspirate; and the *Greek* name for that river seems to strengthen his conjecture. Be it as it may, the words *Hindu* and *Hinduṣṭhán*, occur in no *Sanścrit* book of great antiquity: but the epithet *Haindava*, in a derivative form, is used by the poet *CA'LIDA's*. The modern *Bráhmens*, when they write or speak *Sanścrit*, call themselves *Hindus*: but they give the name of *Cumára-c'handa* to their country on both sides the *Ganges*, including part of the Peninsula; and that of *Nága-c'handa* to the districts situated on the *Indus*.

Next to the emigration of the *Yádavas*, the most celebrated was that of the *Pális*, or *Páliputras*; many of whose settlements were named *Pálist'hán*, which the *Greeks* changed into *Palaiṣtinè*. A country so called was on the banks of the *Tigris*, and another in *Syria*. The river *Strymon* had the epithet *Palaiṣtinos*. In *Italy* we find the *Paleṣtini*; and at the mouth of the *Po*, a town called *Philistina*; to which may be added the *Philistinae fossiones*, and the *Philistinae arenæ* in *Epirus*. As the *Greeks* wrote *Palai* for *Páli*, they rendered the word *Paliputra* by *Palaigonos*, which also means the offspring of *Páli*; but they sometimes retained the *Sanścrit* word for *son*; and the town of *Palaiṣpatrai*, to this day called *Paliputra* by the natives, stood on the shore of the *Helleſpont*. These disquisitions, however, would lead me too far; and I proceed to demonstrate the ancient intercourse between *Egypt* and *India*, by a faithful epitome of some mythological and astronomical fables which were common to both those countries.

SECTION THE SECOND.

OSIRIS, or, more properly, YSIRIS, according to HELLANICUS, was a name used in *Egypt* for the Supreme

preme Being. (a.) In *Sanscrit* it signifies *Lord*; and in that sense is applied by the *Bráhmens* to each of their three principal deities, or rather to each of the principal *forms* in which they teach the people to adore BRAHM, or the Great One: and if it be appropriated in common speech to MAHA'DE'VA, this proceeds from the zeal of his numerous votaries, who place him above their two other divinities. BRA'HMA, VISHNU, and MAHA'DE'VA, say the *Puráńics*, were brothers: and the *Egyptian Triad*, or OSIRIS, HORUS, and TYPHON, were brought forth by the same parent; though HORUS was believed to have sprung from the mysterious embraces of OSIRIS and ISIS before their birth: as the *Vaishnavas* also imagine, that HARA, or MAHA'DE'VA, sprang mystically from his brother HERI, or VISHNU. In the *Hindu* mythology, BRA'HMA is represented of a red; VISHNU, of a black, or dark azure; and HARA of a white complexion: but in that of *Egypt*, we find OSIRIS black, HORUS white, and TYPHON red. The indiscriminate application of the title I'SWARA, has occasioned great confusion in the accounts which the *Greeks* have transmitted to us of *Egyptian* mythology; for the priests of *Egypt* were very reserved on subjects of religion; and the *Grecian* travellers had, in general, too little curiosity to investigate such points with scrupulous exactness. Since OSIRIS, however, was painted black, we may presume that he was VISHNU, who, on many occasions, according to the *Puráńas*, took *Egypt* under his special protection: CRISHNA was VISHNU himself, according to the most orthodox opinion; and it was he who visited the countries adjacent to the *Nile*, destroyed the tyrant SANC'HA'SURA, introduced a more perfect mode of worship, cooled the conflagrations which had repeatedly desolated those arid regions, and established the government of the *Cútíla-céfas*, or genuine *Egyptians*, on a permanent basis. Thus OSIRIS, as we are told by PLUTARCH, taught the old
Egyptians

(a) Plut. on Isis and Osiris.

Egyptians to make laws, and to honour the Gods. The title *Sri-Bhagavat*, importing *prosperity* and *dominion*, is given peculiarly to *CHRISHNA*, or the *black* deity; and the *black* *OSIRIS* had also the titles of *Sirius*, *Seirius*, and *Bacchus*. It is related, indeed, that *OSIRIS*, or *BACCHUS*, imported from *India* the worship of two divine Bulls; and in this character he was *MAHA'DE'VA*, whose followers were pretty numerous in *Egypt*: for *HERMAPION*, in his explanation of the hieroglyphicks on the *Heliopolitan* obelisk, calls *HORUS* the Supreme Lord, and the author of *Time*, (a.) Now *I'SWARA*, or *Lord*, and *CA'LA*, or *Time*, are among the distinguished titles of *MAHA'DE'VA*; and obelisks, or pillars, whatever be their shape, are among his emblems. In the *Vrihad-haima*, which appears to contain many curious legends concerning *Egypt*, it is expressly said, that “*I'SWARA*, with his consort “*PA'RVATI*, descended from heaven, and chose for “his abode the land of *Misra*, in *Sanc'ha-dwip*.” We must observe, that the *Egyptians* feared and abhorred *TYPHON*, or *MAHA'DE'VA*, in his character of the *Destroyer*; and the *Hindus* also dread him in that character, giving him the name of *Bhairava*, or *Tremendous*. The *Egyptian* fable of his attempt to break the *Mundane Egg*, is applied to *MAHA'DE'VA* in the little book *Chandî*, which is chiefly extracted from the *Mârcandéya Purân*. There is a striking resemblance between the legendary wars of the three principal Gods in *Egypt* and *India*. As *OSIRIS* gave battle to *TYPHON*, who was defeated at length, and even killed, by *HORUS*, so *BRA'HMA* fought with *VISHNU*, and gained an advantage over him, but was overpowered by *MAHA'DE'VA*, who cut off one of his five heads; an allegory, of which I cannot pretend to give the meaning.

PLUTARCH asserts, that the priests of *Egypt* called the Sun *their Lord and King*; and their three Gods

B b 2

resolve

resolve themselves ultimately into him alone. OSIRIS was the Sun; HORUS was the Sun; and so, I suppose, was TYPHON, or the *power of destruction by heat*; though PLUTARCH says gravely, that *such as maintained that opinion were not worthy to be heard*. The case was nearly the same in ancient *India*; but there is no subject on which the modern *Bráhmens* are more reserved; for when they are closely interrogated on the title of *Déva*, or God, which their most sacred books give to the Sun, they avoid a direct answer, have recourse to evasions, and often contradict one another and themselves. They confess, however, unanimously, that the Sun is an emblem, or image, of their three great deities jointly and individually; that is, of BRAHMA, or the Supreme One, *who alone exists really and absolutely*; the three male divinities themselves being only *Máyà*, or allusion. The body of the Sun they consider as *Máyà*; but since he is the most glorious and active emblem of God, they respect him as an object of high veneration. All this must appear very mysterious; but it flows from the principal tenet of the *Védántis*, that the only being which has absolute and real existence, is the Divine Spirit, infinitely wise, infinitely benign, and infinitely powerful, expanded through the universe; not merely as the *soul of the world*, but as the *provident ruler* of it; sending forth rays or emanations from his own essence, which are the pure vital souls of all animated creatures, whether *moveable* or *immoveable*; that is, (as we should express ourselves,) both *animals* and *vegetables*, and which he calls back to himself, according to certain laws established by this unlimited wisdom. Though *Bráhma* be neuter in the character of the Most High One, yet in that of *Supreme Ruler*, he is named PARAMÉSWARA: but through the infinite veneration to which he is entitled, the *Hindus* meditate on him with silent adoration, and offer prayers and sacrifice only to the higher emanations from him. In a mode incomprehensible to inferior creatures,

creatures, they are involved at first in the gloom of *Máyà*, and subject to various taints from attachment to worldly affections ; but they can never be reunited to their source, until they dispel the illusion by self-denial, renunciation of the world, and intellectual abstractions ; and until they remove the impurities which they have contracted, by repentance, mortification, and successive passages through the forms of animals, or vegetables, according to their demerits. In such a reunion consists their final beatitude ; and to effect it by the best possible means, is the object of their supreme ruler ; who, in order to reclaim the vicious, to punish the incorrigible, to protect the oppressed, to destroy the oppressor, to encourage and reward the good, and to show all spirits the path to their ultimate happiness, has been pleased (say the *Bráhmens*) to manifest himself in a variety of ways, from age to age, in all parts of the habitable world. When he acts immediately, without assuming a shape, or sending forth a new emanation, as when a divine sound is heard from the sky, that manifestation of himself is called *ácáśa-váni*, or an *ethereal voice*. When the voice proceeds from a meteor, or a flame, it is said to be *agnirúpi*, or *formed of fire* : but an *avatára* is a *descent* of the deity in the shape of a mortal ; and an *avántara* is a similar incarnation of an inferior kind, intended to answer some purpose of less moment. The Supreme Being, and the celestial emanations from him, are *nirácará*, or *bodiless*, in which state they must be invisible to mortals ; but when they are *praiyacshá*, or *obvious to sight*, they become *śácárá*, or *embodied*, either in shapes different from that of any mortal, and expressive of the divine attributes, as CRISHNA revealed himself to ARJUN, or in a human form, which CRISHNA usually bore ; and in that mode of appearing, the deities are generally supposed to be born of woman, but without any carnal intercourse. Those who follow the *Púrva Mímánsà*, or Philosophy of JAIMINI, admit no such incarnations of deities, but insist that the *Dévas* were mere mortals, whom

whom the Supreme Being was pleased to endue with qualities approaching to his own attributes; and the *Hindus*, in general, perform acts of worship to some of their ancient monarchs and sages, who were deified in consequence of their eminent virtues. After these introductory remarks, we proceed to the several manifestations, in *Egypt*, and other countries adjacent to the *Nile*, of DE'VÌ, and the three principal Gods of the *Hindus*, as they are expressly related in the *Purânas*, and other *Sanfcrít* books of antiquity.

DE'VÌ, or the *Goddeſs*, and ISÌ, or the *Sovereign Queen*, is the *ISIS* of *Egypt*, and represents *Nature* in general, but in particular the *Earth*, which the *Indians* call PRIT'HIVÌ; while *water*, and *humidity* of all kinds, are supposed, by the *Hindus*, to proceed from VISHNU, as they were by the *Egyptians* to proceed from OSIRIS. This account of *ISIS* we find corroborated by PLUTARCH: and SERVIUS asserts, that the very word *ISIS* means *Earth* in the language of the *Egyptians*; but this I conceive to be an error.

I. It is related in the *Scânda*, that, when the whole earth was covered with water, and VISHNU lay extended asleep in the bosom of DE'VÌ, a lotos arose from his navel, and its ascending flower soon reached the surface of the flood; that BRA'HMA sprang from that flower, and, looking round, without seeing any creature on the boundless expanse, imagined himself to be the first born, and entitled to rank above all future beings; yet resolved to investigate the deep, and to ascertain whether any being existed in it, who could controvert his claim to pre-eminence, he glided, therefore, down the stalk of the lotos, and, finding VISHNU asleep, asked loudly who he was. “ I am the first born,” answered VISHNU, waking; and when BRA'HMA denied his primogeniture, they had an obstinate battle, till MAHA'DE'VA pressed between them in great wrath, saying, “ It is I who am truly the first-born; “ but I will resign my pretensions to either of you, “ who

“ who shall be able to reach and behold the summit
 “ of my head, or the soles of my feet.” BRAHMA
 instantly ascended; but having fatigued himself to
 no purpose, in the regions of immensity, yet loth to
 abandon his claim, returned to MAHADEVĀ, declaring
 that he had attained and seen the crown of his head,
 and called, as his witness, the first-born cow. For
 this union of pride and falsehood, the angry god or-
 dained, that no sacred rites should be performed to
 BRAHMA; and that the *mouth* of the cow should be
 defiled, and a cause of defilement, as it is declared to
 be in the oldest *Indian* laws. When VISHNU re-
 turned, he acknowledged that he had not been able
 to see the feet of MAHADEVĀ, who then told him,
 that he was really the first-born among the Gods, and
 should be raised above all. It was after this that MA-
 HADEVĀ cut off the fifth head of BRAHMA, whose
 pride (says the writer of the *Scānda Purān*) occasioned
 his loss of power and influence in the countries bor-
 dering on the river *Cāli*. Whether these wild stories
 on the wars of the three principal Gods, mean only
 the religious wars between the several sectaries, or
 whether they have any more hidden meaning, it is
 evident, from the *Purānas*, which represent *Egypt* as
 the theatre of action, that they are the original legends
 of the wars between OSIRIS, HORUS, and TYPHON;
 for BRAHMA, in his character of all-destroying *Time*,
 corresponds with TYPHON; and MAHADEVĀ, in that
 of the *productive principle*, with HORUS, or HARA, who
 assumes each of his characters on various occasions,
 either to restore the powers, or to subdue the oppo-
 nents, of VISHNU, or active Nature, from whom his
 auxiliary springs. In *Egypt* (says PLUTARCH) certain
 sacrifices were made even to TYPHON, but only on
 particular days, and for the purpose of consoling him
 after his overthrow; as in *India* no worship is paid to
 BRAHMA, except on particular occasions, when cer-
 tain offerings are made to him, but placed at
 some distance from the person who offers them. The

Greeks

Greeks have confounded TYPHON with PYTHON, whose history has no connection with the wars of the Gods, and who will appear in the following section to be the PAIT'HÍNASI of the *Hindus*. The idea of MAHA'DE'VA with his head in the highest heaven, and his feet in the lowest parts of the earth, is conformable to the language of the Oracle, in its answer to NICOCRATES, King of Cyprus :

Οὐράνῳ καὶ κόσμῳ κεφαλῇ,——
Γαίᾳ δὲ μοι πόδες——

And the same image is expressed, word for word, at the beginning of the fourth *Véda*, where the deity is described as *Mahápurusha*, or the *Great Male*.

In the story of the war between OSIRIS and TYPHON, mention is made by PLUTARCH, of a stupendous *boar*, in search of whom TYPHON travelled, with a view, perhaps, to strengthen his own party, by making an alliance with him. Thus it is said, in the *Vaishnavágama*, that *Crórásura* was a demon, with the face of a *boar*, who, nevertheless, was continually reading the *Véda*, and performing such acts of devotion, that VISHNU appeared to him on the banks of the *Brahmaputra*, promising to grant any boon that he could ask. *Crórásura* requested that no creature, then existing in the three worlds, might have power to deprive him of life ; and VISHNU granted his request : but the demon became so insolent, that the *Dévatás*, whom he oppressed, were obliged to conceal themselves, and he assumed the dominion of the world. VISHNU was then sitting on a bank of the *Cálñ*, greatly disquieted by the malignant ingratitude of the demon ; and, his wrath being kindled, a shape, which never before had existed, sprang from his eyes. It was MAHA'DE'VA, in his destructive character, who *dispelled* in a moment the *anxiety* of VISHNU, whence he acquired the surname of CHINTA'HARA. With flaming eyes, contracted brows, and his whole countenance distorted with anger, he rushed toward *Crórásura*, seized him with

with fury, and carried him under his arm in triumph over the whole earth; but at length cast him lifeless on the ground, where he was transformed into a mountain, still called the Mountain of CRÓRA, or the *Boar*. The place where VISHNU sat by the river Cálì, has the name of *Chintáhara-st'hali*; and “all they (say the “author of the *A'gama*) who are troubled with anxious thoughts, need only meditate on CHINTA'HARA, “and their cares will be dissipated.” The word *Chintá* was, I imagine, pronounced *Xanthus* by the descendants of DARDA'NA'SA, or DARDANUS, who carried into their new settlements not only the name, but some obscure notions relative to the power of the deity CHINTA'HARA. The district of *Troas*, where they settled, was called also *Xanthè*. There was a town *Xanthus*, in *Lycia*; and a nation of *Xanthi*, or *Xantii*, in *Thrace*. A river of *Lycia* had that name; and so had another near *Troy*; in the waters of which grew a plant supposed capable of *dispelling cares and terrors*, which both *Greeks* and *Indians* believed to be caused by the presence of some invisible deity, or evil spirit, (a). The river *Xanthus*, near *Troy*, was vulgarly called *Scamander*; but its sacred name, used in religious rites, was *Xanthus*; as most rivers in *India* have different names, popular and holy. XANTHUS, according to HOMER, was a son of JUPITER, or, in the language of *Indian Mythology*, an *avántara*, or inferior manifestation, of SIVA. Others make him a son of the great TREMILUS, (b,) whom I should suppose to be JUPITER *Temelius*, or rather *Tremelius*, worshipped at *Bien-nus*, in *Crete*; for the *Tremili*, or *Tremyliciæ*, came originally from that island. According to STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, the native country of XANTHUS was *Egypt*, (c;) and on the shores of the *Atlantick* there were monsters shaped like bulls, probably sea-cows, called *Xanthari*. A poet, cited by STEPHANUS under the word *Tremile*, says, that XANTHUS, son of JUPITER, travelled

(a) Plut. on Rivers, art. *Scamander*. (b) Steph. Byzant. *Tremile*.

(c) See the word *Xanthus*.

travelled with his brothers over the whole world, and *did a great deal of mischief*; that is, according to the *Puránas*, destroyed the insolent CRÓRA'SURA, who was probably revered in the more western countries, where VARA'HE'SWARA once reigned according to the *Hindus*, and where they believe his posterity still to live in the shape of white *varáhas*, or *boars*. The legend of the wars between those *varáhas* and the *śarabhas*, a sort of monster, with the face of a lion, and wings like a bird, shall be explained in another essay on *Varáha-dwíp*; and I shall only add in this place, that the war was represented, according to HESIOD, on the shield of HERCULES. At present the place where the temple of AMMON formerly stood, has the name of *Santariah*, which may be derived from some altar anciently dedicated to CHINTA'HARA.

II. We are told in the *Náreda Purán*, that SU'RYA, the regent of the Sun, had chosen a beautiful and well-peopled country in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, for the purpose of performing his devotions; but that he had no sooner begun, than the whole region was in flames, the waters dried up, and all its inhabitants destroyed; since which it has been denominated *Barbara*. The *Dévatás*, it is added, were in the greatest distress; and VISHNU descended, with BRA'HMA, to expostulate with the author of the conflagration. SU'RYA praised and worshipped them, but lamented that his devotion had not prospered, and promised to repair the injuries done by his flames. “It is I (said VISHNU) who must repair them; and when I shall revisit this country in the character of CRISHNA, to destroy the demon SANC'HA'SURA, the land shall cool, and be replenished with plants and animals. The race of *Pális* shall then settle here, with the *Cutíla-céśas*, the *Yavanas*, and other *Mléch'ha* tribes.”

In the *Uttara-charitra*, and other ancient books, we find many stories concerning SU'RYA, some of which have a mixture of astrological allegory. Once, it seems, he was performing acts of austere devotion, in the character of TAPANA, or the *Inflamer*, when his consort PRABHA', or *Brightness*, unable to bear his intense heat, assumed the form of CH'HA'YA', or *Shade*, and was impregnated by him. After a period of a hundred years, when gods and men, expecting a terrible offspring, were in the utmost consternation, she was delivered of a male child, in a remote place, afterwards called *Arki-st'hán*, or *Sauri-st'hán*, from *Arci* and *Sauri*, the patronymicks of ARCA and SU'RYA. He was the genius of the planet which the *Latians* called SATURN; and acquired among the *Hindus* the epithet of SANI, and SANAISCHARA, or *slow-moving*. For twelve years, during his education at *Arki-st'hán*, no rain fell; but a destructive wind blew continually, and the air blazed with tremendous meteors. A dreadful famine ensued; and the *Dévatás*, together with the *Daityas*, implored the protection and advice of SU'RYA, who directed them to propitiate SANI, by performing religious rites to VISHNU, near the *pippal*-tree, which is an emblem of him; and assured them, that, in future ages, the malignant influence of the planet should prevail only during its passage through four signs of the *Ajaviž'hi*, or *Zodiack*. The reign of SU'RYA in *Barbara* continued long; but he resigned his dominion to SANI, whose government was tyrannical. All his pious and prudent subjects fled to the hilly countries, bordering on the river *Nandá*; while the irreligious and rash perished in the *deserts of burning sand*, to which the baneful eyes of the tyrant reduced all the plains and meadows on which he looked. His father, returning to visit his ancient realm, and seeing the desolation of the whole country, expelled SANI, and sent for another of his sons, named AURVA, who, being appointed successor to his brother, purified the land, recalled the holy men from the hills, and made his

his subjects happy in ease and abundance, while he resided at *Aurva-st'hán*, so called from his name: but he returned afterwards to *Vahni-st'hán*, the present *Azar-báiján*, or the *Seat of Fire*, in the interior *Cusha-dwípa*, where he was performing his devotions on *Trisrīnga*, or the mountain *with three peaks*, at the time when his father summoned him to the government of *Barbara*. Just before that time he had given a dreadful proof of his power; for as *ARA'MA*, the son of a son of *SATYA-VRA'TA*, (and consequently the *ARAM* of Scripture,) was hunting in that country with his whole army, near a spot where *DURVA'SAS*, a cholerick saint, and a supposed *avántar* of *MAHA'DE'VA*, was sitting rapt in deep meditation, *ARAMA* inadvertently shot an arrow, which wounded the foot of *DURVA'SAS*, who no sooner opened his eyes, than *AURVA* sprang from them, in the shape of a flame, which consumed *ARAMA* and his party, together with all the animals and vegetables in *Cusha-dwíp*. It seems to me that *AURVA* is *VULCAN*, or the God of Fire, who reigned, according to the *Egyptian* priests, after the Sun; though some have pretended, says *DIODORUS*, that he had existed before that luminary; as the *Hindus* alledge, that *AGNI*, or Fire, had existence in an elementary state before the formation of the Sun, but could not be said to have dominion till its force was concentrated. In another character he is *ORUS* the Elder, or *APOLLO*, a name derived, I imagine, from a *Sanscrit* word, implying a power of *dispelling humidity*. No doubt, the whole system of *Egyptian* and *Indian* mythology must at first view seem strangely inconsistent; but, since all the Gods resolve themselves into one, of whom they were no more than *forms* or *appearances*, it is not wonderful that they should be confounded; especially as every emanation from the Supreme Spirit was believed to send forth collateral emanations, which were blended with one another, sometimes recalled, sometimes continued or renewed, and variously reflected or refracted in all directions. Another source of confusion is

the infinite variety of legends which were invented, from time to time, in *Greece, Egypt, Italy, and India*; and when all the causes of inconsistency are considered, we shall no longer be surprised to see the same appellation given to very different deities, and the same deities appearing under different appellations. To give an example in SATURN: the planet of that name is the SANI of *India*, who (says DIODORUS) was considered by the *Chaldeans* as the most powerful of the heavenly bodies, next to the Sun; but his influence was thought baneful; and incantations, with offerings of certain *perfumes*, were used to avert or to mitigate it. When the name is applied to CRONOS, the Father of the Gods, it means CA'LA, or *Time*, a character both of MAHA'DE'VA and BRA'HMA; but when he is called CHRONOS, he seems to be the gigantick CRAUNCHA of the *Hindus*; while the SATURN of *Latium*, and of the Golden Age, appears to be quite a different person; and his title was probably derived from SATYAVERNA, which implies an age of *veracity* and *righteousness*. BRA'HMA, with a *red* complexion, is worshipped (say the *Puranas*) in the *dwîp* of *Pushcara*, which I suppose to be a maritime country at no great distance from *Egypt*. He was there called the First-born of Nature, Lord of the Universe, and Father of Deities: and the mythology of *Pushcara* having passed into *Greece*, we find CHRONOS represented in those characters, but mild and beneficent to the human race, with some features borrowed from the older system, which prevailed on the banks of the *Nile* and the *Ganges*. I cannot help suspecting that the word *Cála* was the origin of COELUS, or *Coilus*, as ENNIUS wrote it; and the ARHAN of the *Jainas*, who was a *form* of MAHA-CA'LA, might originally have been the same with URANUS. As to RHEA, there can be no doubt that she is the Goddess RI, whom the *Hindus* call the Mother of the Gods: but some say that she also produced malignant beings: and PLINY tells us that she was the mother of TYPHON, who became sovereign

reign of *Egypt*, (a,) but was déposed and expelled by AVERIS, or HORUS, where we have precisely the story of SANI and AURVA. We cannot but observe, that the succession of the Gods in *Egypt*, according to MANETHO, is exactly in the spirit of *Hindu* mythology, and conformable, indeed, to the *Purânas* themselves; and we may add, before we leave the planets, that, although VRIHASPETI, an ancient legislator and philosopher, be commonly supposed to direct the motions of JUPITER, which now bears his name, yet many of the *Hindus* acknowledge that SIVA, or the God JUPITER, shines in that planet; while the Sun is the peculiar station of VISHNU; and SATURN is directed by BRA'HMA, whom, for that reason, the *Egyptians* abhorred, not daring even to pronounce his true name, and abominating all animals with *red* hair, because it was his colour.

There is something very remarkable in the number of years during which ARCA and his son reigned on the banks of the *Cáli*. The Sun, according to the *Brâhmens*, began his devotions immediately after the flood, and continued it a hundred years. SANI, they say, was born a hundred years after his conception, and reigned a hundred years, or till the death of A'RA'M, who must therefore have died about three hundred years after the deluge, and fifty years before his grandfather; but the *Paúranics* insist that they were years of BRA'HMA. Now one year of mortals is a day and night of the Gods, and 360 of our years is one of theirs: 12,000 of their years, or 4,320,000 of ours, constitute one of their ages, and 2000 such ages are BRA'HMA's day and night, which must be multiplied by 360 to make one of his years: so that the chronology of *Egypt*, according to the *Brâhmens*,
would

(a) Lib. 2. Cap. 25. &c.

would be more extravagant than that of the *Egyptians* themselves, according to MANETHO. The *Talmud* contains notions of *divine days* and *years*, founded on passages in Scripture ill understood. The period of 12,000 years was *Etruscan*; and that of 4,320,000 was formed in *Chaldea* by repetitions of the *saros*. The *Turdetani*, an old and learned nation in *Spain*, had a long period nearly of the same kind. But, for particular inquiries into the ancient periods, and the affinity between them, I must refer to other essays, and proceed to the geography of *Egypt*, as it is illustrated by the *Indian* legends.

The place where the Sun is feigned to have performed his acts of religious austerity, is named the *st'hán*, or station, of ARCA, SU'RYA, and TAPANA. As it was on the limit between the *dwípas* of *Cush* and *Sanc'ha*, the *Puráns* ascribed it indifferently to either of those countries. I believe it to be the *Tahpanhés* of Scripture, called *Taphna*, or *Taphnai*, by the seventy Interpreters, and *Daphne* in the *Roman Itinerary*, where it is placed sixteen miles from *Pelusium*. It is mentioned by HERODOTUS, under the name of *Daphnæ Pelusiæ*, (a,) and by STEPHANUS under that of *Daphne* near *Pelusium*; but the moderns have corrupted the name into *Safnas*.

Sauri-st'hán, where SANI was born and educated, seems to have been the famed *Beth Shemesh*, or *Heliopolis*, which was built (says DIODORUS) by AETIS, in honour of his father the Sun, (b). AETIS first taught astronomy in *Egypt*; and there was a college of astronomers at *Heliopolis*, with an observatory, and a temple of the Sun, the magnificence and celebrity of which might have occasioned the change of the ancient name into *Súrya-st'hán*, as it was translated by the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*. It is said by the *Hindus*, that SANI,
or

(a) B. 2. C. 30.

(b) B. 6. p. 13.

or ARKI, built several places of worship in the regions adjacent to the *Cálì*; and we still find the town of *Arkico* near the Red Sea, which is not mentioned, indeed, by any of the *Grecian* geographers; but the headland contiguous to it, is called, by PTOLEMY, the Promontory of SATURN. The genius of SATURN is described in the *Puráns* as clad in a black mantle, with a dark turban loosely wrapped round his head; his aspect hideous, and his brows knit with anger; a trident in one of his four hands, a cimeter in a second, and in the two others, a bow and shafts. The priests of SATURN in *Egypt*, where his temples were always out of the towns, are said by EPIPHANIUS to have worn a dress nearly similar.

To conclude this head, we must add, that the *st'hán* of AURVA is now called *Arfu* by the *Copts*, (*a*;) but as AURVA corresponded with ORUS, or APOLLO, the *Greeks* gave it the name of *Apollonopolis*.

III. The metamorphosis of LUNUS into LUNA was occasionally mentioned in the preceding Section; but the legend must now be told more at length. The God SÓMA, or CHANDRA, was traversing the earth with his favourite consort RÓHINÍ; and, arriving at the southern mountain, *Sahyádri*, they unwarily entered the forest of *Gauri*, where some men having surprised MAHA'DE'VA caressing that Goddess, had been formerly punished by a change of their sex, and the forest had retained a power of effecting the like change on all males who should enter it. CHANDRA, instantly becoming a female, was so afflicted and ashamed, that she hastened *far to the west*, sending RÓHINÍ to her seat in the sky, and concealed herself in a mountain, afterwards named *Sóma-giri*, where she performed acts of the most rigorous devotion. Darkness then,

(a) Lett. Edif. vol. 5. p. 257.

then covered the world each night : the fruits of the earth were destroyed ; and the universe was in such dismay, that the *Dévas*, with BRA'HMA at their head, implored the assistance of MAHA'DE'VA, who no sooner placed CHANDRI' on his forehead, than she became a male again ; and hence he acquired the title of *Chandraśéc'hara*. This fable has been explained to me by an ingenious *Pandit*. To the inhabitants of the countries near the source of the *Cálì*, the Moon, being in the mansion of *Róhinì*, or the *Pleiads*, seemed to vanish behind the southern mountains. Now, when the Moon is in its opposition to the Sun, it is the god CHANDRA ; but when in conjunction with it, the goddess CHANDRI', who was in that state feigned to have conceived the *Pulindas* mentioned in the former Section. The Moon is believed, by the *Hindu* naturalists, to have a powerful influence on vegetation, especially on certain plants, and, above all, on the *Sómalatá*, or *Moon-plant* ; but its power, they say, is greatest at the *púrnimà*, or full, after which it gradually decays, till, on the dark *tit'hi*, or *amávásyà*, it wholly vanishes. This mode of interpretation may serve as a clue for the intricate labyrinth of the *Puránas*, which contain all the history, physiology, and science, of the *Indians* and *Egyptians*, disguised under similar fables. We have already made remarks on the *region* and *mountains* of the Moon, which the *Puránas* place in the exterior *Cusha-dwíp*, or the southern parts of *Africa* ; and we only add, that the *Pulindas* consider the *female* Moon as a *form* of the celestial I'SI, or *ISIS*, which may seem to be incompatible with the mythological system of *India* : but the *Hindus* have, in truth, an *ISIS* with *three forms*, called SWAR-DE'VI' in heaven, BHU-DE'VI' on earth, and PA'TA'LA-DE'VI' in the infernal regions. The consort of the Terrestrial Goddess is named BHU-DE'VA, who resides on SUME'RU, and is a vicegerent on earth of the three principal deities. He seems to be the *Bdév's* of the *Greek* Mythologists, and the *BUDYAS* of

ARRIAN; though the *Grecian* writers have generally confounded him with BUDDHA.

IV. When this earth was covered with waters, MAHA'CA'LA, who floated on their surface, beheld a company of *Apсарases*, or *Nymphs*, and expressed with such force his admiration of their beauty, that MAHA'CA'LÌ, his consort, was greatly incensed, and suddenly vanished. The God, stung with remorse, went in search of her, and, with hasty strides, traversed the earth, which then had risen above the waters of the deluge, as they were dried up or subsided; but the ground gave way under the pressure of his foot at every step; and the balance of the globe was nearly destroyed. In this distress he was seen by the relenting CA'LÌ on the site of *Srirangapattana*; and considering the injury which the universe would sustain by her concealment, she appeared in the character of RA'JARA'JE'SWARÌ, and in the form of a damsel more lovely than an *Apсарas*, on the banks of a river since named *Cáli*. There, at length, he saw and approached her, in the character of RA'JARA'JE'SWARA, and in the shape of a beautiful youth. They were soon reconciled, and travelled together over the world, promoting the increase of animals and vegetables, and instructing mankind in agriculture and useful arts. At last they returned to *Cusha-dwíp*, and settled at a place which from them was named the *St'hán* of RA'JARA'JE'SWARA, and RA'JARA'JE'SWARÌ, and which appears to be the *Nysa* of *Arabia*, called *Elim* in Scripture, and *El Tor* by modern geographers: but *Al Túr* belongs properly to the interior *dwíp* of *Cusha*. They resided long in that station, conversing familiarly with men, till the iniquities of later generations compelled them to disappear; and they have since been worshipped under the titles of ISA'NA, or ISA; and ISA'NI, or ISI.

Since the goddess Isis made her first appearance in *Egypt*, that country is called her *nursing mother* in an inscription mentioned by DIODORUS, and said to have been

been found on a pillar in *Arabia*. She was reported by the *Egyptians*, to have been *Queen* of that country; and is declared in the *Puráns*, to have reigned over *Cusha-dwíp within*, as her consort has the title, in the *Arabian* inscription, of *King OSIRIS*; conformably, in both instances, to the characters under which they appeared on the banks of the *Nile*. The place where *ISIS* was first visible, became of course an object of worship; but, as it is not particularly noticed by the mythologists of the west, we cannot precisely ascertain its situation. It was probably one of the places in the Delta, each of which was denominated *ISEUM*; and I think it was the town of *ISIS*, near *Sebennytus*, (*a*,) now called *Bha-beit*, where the ruins of a magnificent temple, dedicated to *ISIS*, are still to be seen. As *YSIRIS* came from the western peninsula of *India*, he was considered in *Egypt* as a foreign divinity, and his temples were built out of the towns.

V. *BHAVA*, the author of *existence*, and consort of *AMBA*, the *Magna Mater* of the western mythologists, had resolved to set mankind an example of performing religious austerities, and chose for that purpose an *Ara-nya*, or *uninhabited forest*, on the banks of the *Nile*; but *AMBA*, named also *BHAVA'NÌ* and *UM'A*, being uneasy at his absence, and guessing the place of his retirement, assumed the character of *ARANYA-DE'VÌ*, or Goddess of the Forest, and appeared sporting among the trees at a place called afterwards *Cámanava*, or the Wood of Desire, from the impresson which her appearance there made on the amorous deity. They retired into an *Atavì*, or the impervious forest, whence the Goddess acquired also the title of *ATAVÌ-DE'VÌ*; and the scene of their mutual caresses had the name of *Bhavá-tavi-st'hána*, which is mentioned in the *Védas*. The place of their subsequent residence, near the *Nile*, was denominated *Crírávana*, or the Grove of Dalliance;

C c 2

and

(a) Tab. Peutinger. Plin. Steph. Byzantium.

and that where BHAVA was interrupted in his devotions, was first called *Bhava-st'hán*, and seems to be the celebrated *Bubastos*, or, in the oblique case, *Burbaston*, peculiarly sacred to DIANA, the Goddess of Woods. From *Bhavátavi*, which was at some distance from the Nile, in the midst of an impervious forest, the Greeks made *Butoi* in the oblique case, whence they formed *Buto* and *Butús* : and there also stood a famous temple of DIANA. The situation of *Crírávana* cannot be so easily ascertained ; but it could not have been far from the two last-mentioned places, and was probably in the Delta, where we find a most distinguished temple of VENUS at *Aphroditopolis*, (a,) now *Atar-bekhi*, which, according to STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, was at no great distance from *Atribi*. The Goddess had, indeed, laid aside the character of DIANA when BHAVA perceived her, and assumed that of BHAVA'NI, or VENUS. The three places of worship here mentioned, were afterwards continually visited by numerous pilgrims, whom the *Brahmánda-purán*, from which the whole fable is extracted, pronounces entitled to delight and happiness both in this world and the next.

BHAVE'SWARA seems to be the BUSIRIS of *Egypt* ; for STRABO asserts, positively, that no *Egyptian* king bore that name ; though altars, on which men were anciently sacrificed, were dedicated to BUSIRIS ; and the human victims of the *Hindus* were offered to the consort of BHAVE'SWARA. The *Naramédha*, or sacrifice of a man, is allowed by some ancient authorities ; but since it is prohibited under pain of the severest torture in the next world, by the writers of the *Bráhma*, of the *A'ditya-purán*, and even of the *Bhágavat* itself, we cannot imagine that any *Bráhmen* would now officiate at so horrid a ceremony ; though it is asserted by some,

(a) Herod. B. 2. C. 42.

some, that the *Pámaras*, or *Pariar* nations, in different parts of *India*, disregard the prohibition; and that the *Carharas*, who were allowed by *PARA'SURA'MA* to settle in the *Cóncan*, to sacrifice a man, in the course of every generation, to appease the wrath of *RE'NUCA'-DE'VI*.

Before we quit the subject of *Atavi*, we must add two legends from the *Bráhmánda*, which clearly relate to *Egypt*. A just and brave king, who reigned on the borders of *Himálaya*, or *Imaus*, travelled over the world to destroy the robbers who then infested it; and, as he usually surprised them by *night*, he was surnamed *NACTAMCHARA*. To his son *NIS'A'CHARA*, whose name had the same signification, he gave the kingdom of *Barbara*, near the Golden Mountains, above *Syene*; and *NIS'A'CHARA* followed, at first, the example of his father, but at length grew so insolent as to contend with *INDRA*; and oppressed both *Dévas* and *Dánavas*, who had recourse to *ATAVI'-DE'VI*, and solicited her protection. The Goddesses advised them to lie for a time concealed in *Swerga*, by which we must here understand the *mountains*; and, when the tyrant rashly attempted to drive her from the banks of the *Nile*, she attacked and slew him. The *Dévas* then returned singing her praises; and on the spot where she fought with *NIS'A'CHARA* they raised a temple, probably a pyramid, which from her was called *Atavi-mandira*. Two towns in *Egypt* are still known to the *Copts* by the names of *Atfi*, *Atsieh*, and *Itfu*; and to both of them the *Greeks* gave that of *Aphroditopolis*. The district round the most northerly of them is to this day named *Ibrit*, which M. D'ANVILLE with good reason thinks a corruption of *Aphrodite*; but *Atavi-mandir* is *Atfi* to the south of *Alkáhirah*, not the *Atfi* or *Itfu* near *Thebes*, which also is mentioned in the *Puránas*, and said to have stood in the forests of *Tapas*.

Another

Another title of the Goddess was ASHTA'RA', which she derived from the following adventure. VIJAYA'SWA, or *victorious on horseback*, was a virtuous and powerful king of the country round the *Nishadha* Mountains; but his first minister, having revolted from him, collected an army of *Mléch'has* in the hills of *Gandha-mádan*, whence he descended in force, gave battle to his master, took him prisoner, and usurped the dominion of his country. The royal captive, having found means to escape, repaired to the banks of the *Cáli*, and fixing eight sharp iron spikes in a circle at equal distances, placed himself in the centre, prepared for death, and resolved to perform the most rigorous acts of devotion. Within that circle he remained a whole year, at the close of which the Goddess appeared to him, issuing like a flame from the eight iron points; and presenting him with a weapon called *Astára-mudgara*, or a staff armed with eight spikes fixed in an iron ball, she assured him, that all men, who should see that staff in his hand, must either save themselves by precipitate flight, or would fall dead and mangled on the ground. The king received the weapon with confidence, soon defeated the usurper, and erected a pyramid in honour of the Goddess, by the name of ASHTA'RA'-DE'VI. The writer of the *Purána* places it near the *Cáli* river in the woods of *Tapas*; and adds, that all such as visit it will receive assistance from the Goddess for a whole year. *Ashtan* means *eight*; and the word *ára* properly signifies the *spoke of a wheel*, yet is applied to any thing resembling it; but, in the popular *Indian* dialects, *ashta* is pronounced *átt*; and the appearance, which STRABO mentions, of the Goddess APHRODITE under the name of ATTARA, must, I think, be the same with that of ASHTA'RA'. The *Ashtaroth* of the *Hebrews*, and the old *Persian* word *astárah*, now written *sítárah*, (or a *star with eight rays*,) are most probably derived from the two *Sanfrit* words. Though the place where VIJAYAS'WA raised his pyramid, or temple,

was named *Ashtará-st'hán*, yet, as the Goddess to whom he inscribed it was no other than *ATAVÌ-dévi*, it has retained among the *Copts* the appellation of *Atfi*, or *Atfu*, and was called *Aphroditopolis* by the *Greeks*: it is below *Akmim*, on the western bank of the *Nile*.

VI. Among the legends concerning the transformation of *DE'VI*, or *Θέσις πολύμορφος*, we find a wild astronomical tale in the *Násatyá Saṁhitá*, or History of the *Indian CASTOR and POLLUX*. In one of her forms, it seems, she appeared as *PRABHA'* or *Light*, and assumed the shape of *Aswiní*, or a *mare*, which is the first of the lunar mansions. The Sun approached her in the form of a horse; and he no sooner had touched her nostrils with his, than she conceived the twins, who, after their birth, were called *Aswiní-cumárau*, or the two sons of *ASWINÍ*. Being left by their parents, who knew their destiny, they were adopted by *BRA'HMA*, who entrusted them to the care of his son *DACSHA*; and, under that sage preceptor, they learned the whole *Ayurvéda*, or system of medicine. In their early age they travelled over the world, performing wonderful cures on gods and men; and they are generally painted on horseback, in the forms of beautiful youths, armed with javelins. At first they resided on the *Cula Mountains*, near *Colchis*; but *INDRA*, whom they had instructed in the science of healing, gave them a station in *Egypt*, near the river *Cáli*, and their new abode was from them called *Aswi-st'hán*. As medicated baths were among their most powerful remedies, we find near their seat a pool, named *Abhimatada*, or *granting what is desired*; and a place called *Rúpa-yauvana st'hala*, or the *land of beauty and youth*. According to some authorities, one of them had the name of *A'swin*, and the other of *CUMA'R*; one of *NA'SATYA*, the other of *DASRA*; but, by the better opinion, those appellations are to be used in the dual number, and applied to them both. They are also called *ASWANA'SAU*, or *ASWACANA'SAU*, because

because their mother conceived them by her *nostrils*; but they are considered as united so intimately, that *each seems either*, and they are often held to be one individual deity. As twin brothers, the two DASRAS, or CUMA'RAS, are evidently the DIOSCORI of the *Greeks*; but when represented as an individual, they seem to be ÆSCULAPIUS, which my *Pandit* supposes to be ASWICULĀPA, or *Chief of the race of Aswi*. That epithet might, indeed, be applied to the Sun; and ÆSCULAPIUS, according to some of the western mythologists, was a form of the Sun himself. The adoption of the twins by BRA'HMA, whose favourite bird was the phœnicopteros, which the *Europeans* changed into a swan, may have given rise to the fable of LEDA: but we cannot wonder at the many diversities in the old mythological system, when we find in the *Purānas* themselves very different genealogies of the same divinity, and very different accounts of the same adventure.

ÆSCULAPIUS, or ASCLEPIUS, was a son of APOLLO; and his mother, according to the *Phenicians*, was a goddess, that is, a form of DE'VI'. He too was abandoned by his parents, and educated by AUTOLAUS, the son of ARCAS, (a.) The *Aswiculapas*, or *Asclepiades*, had extensive settlements in *Theffaly*, (b,) and, I believe, in *Messenia*. The word *Aswinì* seems to have given a name to the town of *Asphynis*, now *Asfun*, in Upper Egypt; for *Aswa*, a *Horse*, is indubitably changed by the *Persians* into *Asb*, or *Asp*; but *Aswi-st'hán* was probably the town of *Abydus* in the *Thebais*; and might have been so named from *Abhida*, a contraction of *Abhimatada*; for STRABO informs us that it was anciently a very large city, the second in Egypt, after *Thebes*; that it stood about seven miles and a half to the west of the *Nile*; that a celebrated temple of OSIRIS was near it, and a magnificent edi-

fice

(a) Pausan. B. 7. C. 23.

(b) Pausan. B. 8. C. 25.

fice in it, called the palace of MEMNON; that it was famed also for a well or pool of water, with winding steps all round it; that the structure and workmanship of the reservoir were very singular, the stones used in it of an astonishing magnitude, and the sculpture on them excellent, (a.) HERODOTUS insists that the names of the DIOSCURI were unknown to the *Egyptians*; but since it is positively asserted in the *Purānas*, that they were venerated on the banks of the *Nile*, they must have been revered, I presume, in *Egypt* under other names. Indeed, HARPOCRATES and HALITOMENION, the twin sons OSIRIS and ISIS, greatly resemble the DIOSCURI of the *Grecian* Mythologists.

VII. Before we enter on the next legend, I must premise, that *īda*, pronounced *īra*, is the root of a *Sanskrit* verb, signifying *praise*, and synonymous with *ila*, which often occurs in the *Vēda*. The *Rigvēda* begins with the phrase *Agnim ilé*, or, *I sing praise to fire*. VISHNU then had two warders of his ethereal palace, named JAYA and VIJAYA, who carried the pride of office to such a length, that they insulted the seven *Maharshis*, who had come, with SANACA at their head, to present their adorations: but the offended *Rishis* pronounced an imprecation on the insolent warders, condemning them to be *adhōyōni*, or *born below*, and to pass through three mortal forms before they could be re-admitted to the divine presence. In consequence of this execration, they first appeared on earth as HIRANYA'CSHA, or *Golden-eyed*; and HIRANYACASIPU, or *Clad in gold*; secondly, as RA'VANA and CUMBHACARNA; and lastly, as CANSA and SIS'UPA'LA.

In their first appearance they were the twin sons of CASHYAPA and DITI. Before their birth, the body of their mother blazed like the sun; and the *Dēvatas*,
unable

(a) Strabo, B. 9. p. 434, 438.

unable to bear its excessive *heat* and *light*, retired to the banks of the *Cálì*, resolving to lie concealed till she was delivered; but the term of her gestation was so long, and her labour so difficult, that they remained a thousand years near the holy river, employed in acts of devotion. At length DE'VÌ appeared to them in a new character, and had afterwards the title of I'DI'TA, or I'LI'TA, because she was *praised* by the Gods in their hymns, when they implored her assistance in the delivery of DITI. She granted their request, and the two *Daityas* were born; after which I'LI'TA-DE'VÌ assured mankind; that any woman, who should fervently invoke her in a similar situation, should have immediate relief. The *Dévas* erected a temple in the place where she made herself visible to them, and it was named the *st'hán* of I'DI'TA, or I'LI'TA; which was probably the sown of *Idithya*, or *Ilithya*, in Upper *Egypt*; where sacred rites were performed to EITITHYA, or ELEUTHO, the LUCINA of the *Latians*, who assisted women in labour. It stood close to the *Nile*, opposite to Great *Apollonopolis*, and seems to be the *Leucothea* of PLINY. This goddess is now invoked in *India* by women in child-bed, and a burnt-offering of certain perfumes is appropriated to the occasion.

VIII. We read in the *Mahad-himálaya-c'handa*, that, after a deluge, from which very few of the human race were preserved, men became ignorant and brutal, without arts or sciences, and even without a regular language; that part of *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, in particular, was inhabited by various tribes, who were perpetually disputing; but that I'SWARA descended among them, appeased their animosities, and formed them into a community of citizens *mixed* without invidious distinctions; whence the place where he appeared was denominated *Misra-st'hán*; that he sent his consort VA'GE'SWARÍ, or the Goddess of Speech, to instruct the rising generations in arts and language; for which purpose she also visited the *dwíp* of CUSHA. Now the
ancient

ancient city of MISRA was *Memphis*; and when the seat of government was transferred to the opposite side of the river, the new city had likewise the name of *Misr*, which it still retains; for *Alkáhirah*, or the Conquerers, vulgarly *Cairo*, is merely an *Arabick* epithet.

VA'GI'SWARA, or VA'GI'SA', commonly pronounced BAG'I'SWAR, and BA'GI'S, means the Lord of *Speech*; but I have seen only one temple dedicated to a god with that title: it stands at *Gangápur*, formerly *Dehterea*, near *Banáres*, and appears to be very ancient. The image of VA'GI'SWARA, by the name of SIRO'DE'VA, was brought from the west by a grandson of CE'TU-MISRA, descended from GAUTAMA, together with that of the God's consort and sister, vulgarly named BASSARI; but the *Bráhmens* on the spot informed me, that her true name was BA'GI'SWARI'. The precise meaning of SIRO'DE'VA is not ascertained: if it be not a corruption of SRI'DE'VA, it means the God of the *Head*: but the generality of *Bráhmens* have a singular dislike to the descendants of GAUTAM, and object to their modes of worship, which seem, indeed, not purely *Indian*. The priests of BA'GI'SWARA, for instance, offer to his consort a lower mantle with a red fringe, and an earthen pot shaped like a coronet. To the god himself they present a vase full of arak: and they even sacrifice a hog to him, pouring its blood before the idol, and restoring the carcase to its owner; a ceremony which the *Egyptians* performed in honour of BACCHUS OSIRIS, whom I suppose to be the same deity, as I believe the *Bassarides* to have been so named from *Bassari*. Several demigods (of whom CICERO reckons five) (a) had the name of BACCHUS; and it is not improbable that some confusion has been caused by the resemblance of names. Thus BA'GI'SWARA was changed by the *Greeks* into BACCUS OSIRIS; and

when

(a) De Nat. Deor.

when they introduced a foreign name, with the termination of a case in their own tongue, they formed a nominative from it; hence from BHAGAWA'N also they first made BACCHON, and afterwards BACCHOS; and, partly from that strange carelessness conspicuous in all their inquiries, partly from the reserve of the *Egyptian* priests, they melted the three divinities of *Egypt* and *India* into one, whom they miscalled OSIRIS. We have already observed, that YSIRIS was the truer pronunciation of that name, according to HELLANICUS; though PLUTARCH insists that it should be SIRIS, or SIRIUS: but YSIRIS, or ISWARA, seems in general appropriated to the incarnations of MAHA'DE'VA, while SIRIS, or SIRIUS, was applied to those of VISHNU.

IX. When the *Pándavas*, according to the *Vrīhad-haima*, wandered over the world, they came to the banks of the *Cálì* river, in *Sanc'ha-dwīp*, where they saw a three-eyed man sitting with kingly state, surrounded by his people, and by animals of all sorts, whom he was instructing in several arts, according to their capacities. To his human subjects he was teaching agriculture, elocution, and writing. The descendants of PANDU, having been kindly received by him, related their adventures at his request; and he told them, in return, that, having quarrelled in the mansion of BRA'HMA, with DACSHA, his father-in-law, he was cursed by MENU, and doomed to take the form of a *Mánava*, or *man*, whence he was named on earth A'MANE'SWARA; that his faithful consort transformed herself into the river *Cálì*, and purified his people; while he guided them with the staff of empire, and gave them instruction, of which he had found them in great need. The place, where he resided, was called *A'manéswara-st'hán*, or the seat of A'MAN, or A'MON, which can be no other than the *Amonno* of Scripture, translated *Diospolis*, by the Seventy Interpreters; but it was *Diospolis* between the canals of the Delta, near the

the sea and the lake *Manzalè*; for the Prophet *NAHUM* (a) describes it as a town *situated among rivers, with waters round about it, and the sea for its rampart*; so that it could not be either of the towns named also *Diospolis* in Upper Egypt; and the *Hindu* author says expressly, that it lay to the north of *Himádri*.

Having before declared my opinion, that the *Noph* of the three greater *Prophets* was derived from *Nabhas*, or the *sky*, and was properly called *Nabha-íswara st'hán*, or *Nabha-st'hán*, I have little to add here. *HOSEA* once calls it *Moph*, (b,) and the *Chaldean* paraphrast, *Maphes*; while *Rabbi KIMCHI* asserts, that *Moph* and *Noph* were one and the same town. The *Seventy* always render it *Memphis*, which *Copts* and *Arabs* pronounce *Menuf*, or *Menf*; and though I am well aware that some travellers, and men of learning, deny the modern *Menf* to be on the site of *Memphis*, yet in the former Section I have given my reasons for dissenting from them, and observed, that *Memphis* occupied a vast extent of ground along the *Nile*, consisting, in fact, of several towns or divisions, which had become contiguous by the accession of new buildings. May not the words *Noph* and *Menf* have been taken from *Nabha* and *Mánava*, since *Nabhómánava*, as a title of *ISWARA*, would signify the *celestial man*? The *Egyptian* priests had nearly the same story which we find in the *Puráns*; for they related, that the ocean formerly reached to the spot where *Memphis* was built by king *MINES*, *MINAS*, or *MINEVAS*, who forced the sea back, by altering the course of the *Nile*, which depositing its mud in immense quantities, gradually formed the *Delta*.

Diospolis, distinguished by the epithet *great*, was a name of *Thebes*, which was also called the City of the Sun,

(a) Ch. 3. v. 8.

(b) Ch. 9. v. 6.

Sun, (*a*) from a celebrated temple dedicated to that luminary, which I suppose to be the *Súryéswara-st'hán* of the old *Hindu* writers. The following legend concerning it is extracted from the *Bháscara-máhátmya*. The son of SO'MARA'JA, named PUSHACE'TU, having inherited the dominions of his father, neglected his public duties, contemned the advice of his ministers, and abandoned himself to voluptuousness; till BHI'MA, son of PA'MARA, (or of an *outcast*,) descended from the hills of *Níládri*, and laid siege to his metropolis. The prince, unable to defend it, made his escape, and retired to a wood on the banks of the *Cáli*. There, having bathed in the sacred river, he performed penance for his former dissolute life, standing twelve days on one leg, without even tasting water, and with his eyes fixed on the Sun; the regent of which appeared to him in the character of SU'RYE'SWARA, commanding him to declare what he most desired. "Grant me *mócsha*, or beautitude," said PUSHACE'TU, prostrating himself before the deity; who bade him be patient, assured him that his offences were expiated, and promised to destroy his enemies with intense heat; but ordered him to raise a temple, inscribed to SU'RYE'SWARA, on the very spot where he then stood; and declared that he would efface the sins of all such pilgrims as should visit it with devotion. He also directed his votary, who became, after his restoration, a virtuous and fortunate monarch, to celebrate a yearly festival in honour of SU'RYA, on the seventh lunar day, in the bright half of *Mágha*. We need only add, that *Heliopolis*, in Lower *Egypt*, though a literal translation of *Súrya-st'hán*, could not be the same place, as it was not on the banks of the *Nile*.

X. One of the wildest fictions, ever invented by mythologists, is told in the *Pádma* and the *Bhágavat*;
yet

(*a*) Died. Sic. B. a. c. 1.

yet we find an *Egyptian* tale very fimilar to it. The wife of CA'S'YA, who had been the *guru*, or fpiritual guide, of CRISHNA, complained to the incarnate God, that the ocean had fwallowed up her children near the plain of *Prabháfa*, or the western coaft of *Gujara*, now called *Gujarat*; and ſhe ſupplicated him to recover them. CRISHNA haſtened to the ſhore, and being informed by the Sea-god, that SANC'HA'SURA, or PA'N-CHAJANYA, had carried away the children of his preceptor, he plunged into the waves, and ſoon arrived at *Cuſha-dwíp*, where he inſtructed the *Cutíla-céſas* in the whole ſyſtem of religious and civil duties, cooled and embellifhed the peninſula, which he found ſmoking from the various conflagrations which had happened to it, and placed the government of the country on a ſecure and permanent baſis. He then diſappeared; and, having diſcovered the haunt of SANC'HA'SURA, engaged and ſlew him, after a long conflict, during which the ocean was violently agitated, and the land overflowed; but, not finding the *Bráhmén's* children, he tore the monſter from his ſhell, which he carried with him as a memorial of his victory, and uſed afterwards in battle by way of a trumpet. As he was proceeding to *Varáha-dwíp*, or *Europe*, he was met by VARUNA, the chief God of the Waters, who affirmed him poſitively, that the children of CA'S'YA were not in his domains. The preſerving power then deſcended to *Yamapurí*, the infernal city, and, founding the ſhell *Páñchajanya*, ſtruck ſuch terror into YAMA, that he ran forth to make his proſtrations, and reſtored the children, with whom CRISHNA returned to their mother.

Now it is related by PLUTARCH, (*a*) that GARMATHONE, queen of *Egypt*, having loſt her ſon, prayed fervently to ISIS, on whoſe interceſſion OSIRIS deſcended
to

(*a*) On Rivers. art. Nile.

to the shades, and restored the prince to life ; in which fable OSIRIS appears to be CRISHNA, the *black* divinity. *Garmatho*, or *Garbatho*, was the name of a hilly district, bordering on the land of the *Troglodytes*, or *Sanc'hásuras* ; and *Ethiopia* was in former ages called *Egypt*. The flood in that country is mentioned by CEDRENUS, and said to have happened fifty years after CECROPS, the first king of *Athens*, had begun his reign. *Abyssinia* was laid waste by a flood, according to the Chronicle of *Axum*, about 1600 years before the birth of CHRIST (a ;) and CECROPS, we are told, began to reign 1657 years before that epoch ; but it must be confessed that the chronology of ancient *Greece* is extremely uncertain.

XI. Having before alluded to the legends of GUPTA and CARDAMA, we shall here set them down more at large, as they are told in the *Puránas*, entitled *Brahmánda* and *Scánda*, the second of which contains very valuable matter concerning *Egypt*, and other countries in the west. SU'RYA having directed both gods and men to perform sacred rites in honour of VISHNU, for the purpose of counteracting the baneful influence of SANI, they all followed his directions, except MAHA'DE'VA, who thought such homage inconsistent with his exalted character ; yet he found it necessary to lie for a time concealed, and retired to *Barbara*, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, where he remained seven years hidden in the mud which covered the banks of the *Cáli* : hence he acquired the title of GUPTE'SWARA. The whole world felt the loss of his vivifying power, which would long have been suspended, if MANDAPA, the son of CUSHMANDA, had not fled, to avoid the punishment of his vices and crimes, into *Cusha-dwíp* ; where he became a sincere penitent, and wholly devoted himself to the worship of MAHA'DE'VA, constantly singing his praise, and dancing in honour

(a) Bruce's Travels, vol. I. 398.

honour of him : the people, ignorant of his former dissolute life, took him for a holy man, and loaded him with gifts till he became a chief among the votaries of the *concealed* God, and at length formed a design of restoring him to light. With this view he passed a whole night in *Cardama-st'hán*, chanting hymns to the mighty power of destruction and renovation, who, pleased with his piety and his musick, started from the *mud*, whence he was named CARDAME'SWARA, and appeared openly on earth ; but, having afterwards met SAN AISCHARA, who scornfully exulted on his own power *in compelling the Lord of three Worlds to conceal himself in a fen*, he was abashed by the taunt, and ascended to his palace on the top of *Cailása*.

GUPTE'SWARA-STHAN, abbreviated into *Gupta*, on the banks of the *Nile*, is the famed town *Coptos*, called *Gupt* or *Gypt* to this day ; though the *Arabs*, as usual, have substituted their *káf* for the true initial letter of that ancient word. I am even informed, that the land of *Egypt* is distinguished in some of the *Puránas* by the name of *Gupta-st'hán* ; and I cannot doubt the information, though the original passages have not yet been produced to me. Near *Gupta* was *Cardamast'hali*, which I suppose to be *Thebes*, or part of it ; and CADMUS, whose birth-place it was, I conceive to be ISWARA, with the title CARDAMA, who invented the *system of letters*, or at least arranged them as they appear in the *Sanscrit* grammars. The *Greeks*, indeed, confounded CARDAME'SWARA with CARDAMA, father of VARUNA, who lived on the western coasts of *Asia* ; whence CADMUS is by some called an *Egyptian*, and by others, a *Phenician* ; but it must be allowed, that the writers of the *Puránas* also have caused infinite confusion by telling the same story in many different ways ; and the two CARDAMAS may, perhaps, be one and the same personage.

“ CADMUS was born, says DIODORUS, (a) at *Thebes*,
 “ in *Egypt*: he had several sons, and a daughter named
 “ SEMELE, who became pregnant, and, in the *seventh*
 “ month, brought forth an imperfect male child greatly
 “ resembling OSIRIS; whence the *Greeks* believed, that
 “ OSIRIS was the son of CADMUS and SEMELE.” Now
 I cannot help believing, that OSIRIS of *Thebes* was IS-
 WARÁ springing, after his concealment for *seven* years,
 from the mud (*Cardama*) of the river *Syámala*, which
 is a *Pauranic* name for the *Nile*: whatever might have
 been the grounds of so strange a legend, it probably
 gave rise to the popular *Egyptian* belief, that the hu-
 man race were produced from the mud of that river;
 since the appearance of CARDAME'SWARÁ revived
 nature, and replenished the earth with plants and ani-
 mals.

XII. The next legend is yet stranger, but not more
 absurd than a story which we shall find among the
Egyptians, and which in part resembles it. MAHA'DE-
 VA and PA'RVATÌ were playing with dice at the ancient
 game of *Chaturanga*, when they disputed and parted in
 wrath; the goddess retiring to the forest of *Gauri*, and
 the god repairing to *Cushadwip*: they severally per-
 formed rigid acts of devotion to the Supreme Being;
 but the fires, which they kindled, blazed so vehemently
 as to threaten a general conflagration. The *Dévas* in
 great alarm hastened to BRA'HMA, who led them to
 MAHA'DE'VA, and supplicated him to recall his consort;
 but the wrathful deity only answered, that she must
 come by her own free choice: they accordingly dis-
 patched GANGA', the river-goddess, who prevailed on
 PA'RVATÌ to return to him on condition that his love
 for her should be restored. The celestial mediators
 then employed CA'MA-DE'VA, who wounded SIVA with
 one

(a) B. 1. C. 13.

one of his flowery arrows; but the angry divinity reduced him to ashes with a flame from his eye. PÁRVATÌ soon after presented herself before him in the form of a *Cirátì*, or daughter of a mountaineer, and, seeing him enamoured of her, resumed her own shape. In the place where they were reconciled, a grove sprang up, which was named *Cámavana*; and the relenting god, in the character of CA'ME'SWARA, consoled the afflicted RETI, the widow of CA'MA, by assuring her, that she should rejoin her husband when he should be born again in the form of PRADYUMNA, son of CRISHNA, and should put SAMBARA to death. This favourable prediction was in due time accomplished; and PRADYUMNA having sprung to life, he was instantly seized by the demon SAMBARA, who placed him in a chest, which he threw into the ocean; but a large fish, which had swallowed the chest, was caught in a net, and carried to the palace of a tyrant, where the unfortunate RETI had been compelled to do menial service: it was her lot to open the fish, and, seeing an infant in the chest, she nursed him in private, and educated him till he had sufficient strength to destroy the malignant SAMBARA. He had before considered RETI as his *mother*; but, the minds of them both being irradiated, the prophecy of MAHA'DE'VA was remembered, and the god of Love was again united with the goddess of Pleasure. One of his names was PUSHPADHANVA, or *with a flowery bow*; and he had a son, VISVADHANVA, from whom VIJAYADHANVA and CIRTIDHANVA lineally sprang; but the two last, with whom the race ended, were surnamed CAUNA'PA, for a reason which shall presently be disclosed.

VISVADHANVA, with his youthful companions, was hunting on the skirts of HIMA'LAYA, where he saw a white elephant of an amazing size with four tusks, who was disporting himself with his females: the prince imagined him to be AIRA'VATA, the great elephant of INDRA, and

ordered a circle to be formed round him ; but the noble beast broke through the toils, and the hunters pursued him from country to country, till they came to the burning sands of *Barbara*, where his course was so much impeded, that he assumed his true shape of a *Rácshasa*, and began to bellow with the sound of a large drum, called *dundu*, from which he had acquired the name of *DUNDUBHI*. The son of *CAMA*, instead of being dismayed, attacked the giant, and, after an obstinate combat, slew him ; but was astonished on seeing a beautiful youth rise from the bleeding body, with the countenance and form of a *Gandharva*, or celestial quirister ; who told him, before he vanished, that “ he had been expelled “ for a time from the heavenly mansions, and, as a punishment for a great offence, had been condemned to “ pass through a mortal state in the shape of a giant, “ with a power to take other forms ; that his crime was “ expiated by death, but that the prince deserved, and “ would receive, chastisement, for molesting an elephant who was enjoying innocent pleasures.” The place, where the white elephant resumed the shape of a *Rácshasa*, was called *Rácshasa-st’hán* ; and that where he was killed, *Dandubhi-mára-st’hán*, or *Rácshasa-mócshana*, because he there acquired *mócshna*, or a release from his mortal body. It is declared in the *Uttara-charitra*, that a pilgrimage to those places, with the performance of certain holy rites, will ever secure the pilgrims from the dread of giants and evil spirits.

CANTACA, the younger brother of *DUNDUBHI*, meditated vengeance, and assuming the character of a *Bráhma*man, procured an introduction to *VISVADHANWA* as a person eminently skilled in the art of cookery : he was accordingly appointed chief cook, and a number of *Bráhmens* having been invited to a solemn entertainment, he stewed a *cuñapa* or corpse, (some say putrid fish,) and gave it in soup to the guests ; who, discovering the abominable affront,

affront, were enraged at the king, telling him, that he should live twelve years as a night wanderer, feeding on *cunapas*, and that *Caunapa* should be the surname of his descendants: some add, that, as soon as this curse was pronounced, the body of VISVADHANWA became festering and ulcerous, and that his children inherited the loathsome disease.

We find clear traces of this wild story in *Egypt*; which from CA'MA was formerly named *Chemia*, and it is to this day known by the name of *Chemi* to the few old *Egyptian* families that remain: it has been conjectured, that the more modern *Greeks* formed the word *Chemia* from this name of *Egypt*, whence they derived their first knowledge of *Chemistry*. The god CAIMIS was the same, according to PLUTARCH, with ORUS the Elder, or one of the ancient APOLLOS; but he is described as very young and beautiful; and his consort was named RHYTIA; so that he bears a strong resemblance to CA'MA, the husband of RETI, or the CUPID of the *Hindus*. There were two gods named CUPID, says ÆLIAN (a), the elder of whom was the son of LUCINA, and the lover, if not the husband, of VENUS: the younger was her son. Now SMU, or TYPHON, says HERODOTUS, wished to destroy ORUS, whom LATONA concealed in a grove of the island *Chemmis*, in a lake near *Butus*; but SMU, or SAMBAR, found means to kill him, and left him in the waters, where ISIS found him, and restored him to life (b). ÆLIAN says, that the Sun, a form of OSIRIS, being displeased with CUPID, threw him into the ocean, and gave him a shell for his abode. SMU, we are told, was at length defeated and killed by ORUS. We have said, that CA'MA was born again in this lower world, or became *Adhōyóni*, not as a punishment for his offence, which that word commonly implies, but as a mitigation of the

(a) B. 14. C. 28.

(b) Diol. Sic. B. 14.

the chastisement which he had received from ISWARA, and as a favour conferred on him in becoming a son of VISHNU: this may, therefore, be the origin both of the name and the story of ADONIS; and the yearly lamentations of the *Syrian* damsels may have taken rise from the ditties chanted by RETI, together with the *Apсарases*, or nymphs, who had attended CA'MA, when he provoked the wrath of MAHA'DE'VA: one of the sweetest measures in *Sanscrit* prosody has the name of *Reti vilāpa*, or the *dirge* of RETI.

In the only remaining accounts of *Egyptian* Mythology, we find three kings of that country, named CAMEPHIS, which means in *Coptick*, according to JABLONSKI, the guardian divinity of *Egypt* (a): the history of those kings is very obscure; and whether they have any relation to the three descendants of CA'MA, I cannot pretend to determine. The *Caunapas* appear to be the Νέκυες ἡμίθεοι supposed to have reigned in *Egypt*; for we learn from SYNCELLUS (b), that the *Egyptians* had a strange tale concerning a dynasty of *dead men*; that is, according to the *Hindus*, of men afflicted with some sphacelous disorder, and, most probably, with *Elephantiasis*. The seat of CUNAPA seems to have been *Canobus*, or *Canopus*, not far from *Alexandria*. That CANOPUS died there of a loathsome disease was asserted by the *Greek* Mythologists, according to the writer of the *Great Etymological Dictionary*, under the word 'ΕΛΕΥΕΙΟΝ; and he is generally represented in a black shroud, with a cap closely fitted to his head, as if his dress was intended to conceal some offensive malady; whence the potters of *Canopus* often made pitchers with covers in the form of a close cap. His tomb was to be seen at *Helenium*, near the town which bore his name; but that of his wife (who, according to EPIPHANIUS, was named EUMENUTHIS) was in a place called

(a) See *Alphab. Tibet.* p. 145. (b) P. 40, cited by Mr. BRYANT.

called *Menuthis*, at the distance of two stadia. There were two temples at *Canopus*; the more ancient inscribed to HERCULES, which stood in the suburbs (*a*), and the more modern, but of greater celebrity, raised in honour of SERAPIS (*b*). Now there seems to be no small affinity between the characters of DUNDHU and ANTÆUS, or VISVADHANWA and HERCULES. Many heroes of antiquity (CICERO reckons up *six*, and others *forty-three*, some of whom were peculiar to *Egypt*) had the title of HERCULES; and the *Greeks*, after their fashion, ascribed to one the mighty achievements of them all. ANTÆUS was, like DUNDHU, a favourite servant of OSIRIS, who intrusted part of *Egypt* to his government; but, having in some respect misbehaved, he was deposed, absconded, and was hunted by HERCULES through every corner of *Africa*: hence I conclude, that *Dandhu-mâra-st'hân* was the town called *Anteu* by the *Egyptians*, and *Antæopolis* by the *Greeks*, where a temple was raised and sacrifices made to ANTÆUS, in hopes of obtaining protection against other demons and giants. *Râcshasa-st'hân* seems to be the *Rhacotis* of the *Greeks*, which CEDRENUS calls in the oblique case *Rhakhestên*: it stood on the site of the present *Alexandria*, and must in former ages have been a place of considerable note; for PLINY tells us, that an old king of *Egypt*, named MESPHEES, had erected two obelisks in it, and that some older kings of that country had built forts there, with garrisons in them, against the pirates who infested the coast (*c*). When HERCULES had put on the fatal robe, he was afflicted, like VISVADHANWA, with a loathsome and excruciating disease, through the vengeance of the dying NESSUS. Others relate (for the same fable is often differently told by the *Greeks*) that HERCULES was covered with gangrenous ulcers from the venom of the *Lernean* serpent, and was cured in *Phenice* at a place called *Ake* (the
Acco

(*a*) Herod. B. 2.(*b*) Strabo, B. 17.(*c*) Lib. 36. Cap. 9.

Acco of scripture) by the juice of a plant, which abounds both in that spot and on the banks of the *Nile* (a). The *Greeks*, who certainly migrated from *Egypt*, carried with them the old *Egyptian* and *Indian* legends, and endeavoured (not always with success) to appropriate a foreign system to their new settlements. All their heroes or demi-gods, named *HERACLES* by them, and *HERCULES* by the *Latians*, (if not by the *Æolians*), were sons of *JUPITER*, who is represented in *India* both by *HERA*, or *SIVA*, and by *HERI*, or *VISHNU*: nor can I help suspecting, that *HERCULES* is the same with *HERACULA*, commonly pronounced *Hercul*, and signifying the *race* of *HERA*, or *HERI*. Those heroes are celebrated in the concluding book of the *Mahábhárat*, entitled *Herivanfa*; and *ARRIAN* says, that the *Suraseni*, or people of *Mat'hurà*, worshipped *HERCULES*, by whom he must have meant *CRISHNA* and his descendants.

In the *Canopean* temple of *SERAPIS*, the statue of the god was decorated with a *Cerberus* and a *Dragon*; whence the learned *Alexandrians* concluded, that he was the same with *PLUTO*: his image had been brought from *Sinope* by the command of one of the *Ptolemies*, before whose time he was hardly known in *Egypt*. *SERAPIS*, I believe, is the same with *YAMA* or *PLUTO*; and his name seems derived from the compound *Afrapa*, implying *thirst of blood*. The sun in *Bhádra* had the title of *YAMA*, but the *Egyptians* gave that of *PLUTO*, says *PORPHYRY*, to the great luminary near the winter solstice (b). *YAMA*, the regent of hell, has two dogs, according to the *Puránas*, one of them, named *CERBURA* and *SABALA*, or *varied*; the other, *SYA'MA*, or *black*; the first of whom is also called *Trisiras*, or *with three heads*, and has the additional epithets of *Calmásha*, *Chitra*, and *Cirmíra*, all signifying

(a) Steph. Byzant. under *Ake*.

(b) Cited by Euseb.

lying *stained*, or *spotted*. In PLINY, the words *Cimmerium* and *Cerberion* seem used as synonymous (a); but, however that may be, the CERBURA of the *Hindus* is indubitably the CERBERUS of the *Greeks*. The Dragon of SERAPIS I suppose to be the *Séshanâga*, which is described as in the infernal regions by the author of the *Bhâgavat*.

Having now closed my remarks on the parallel divinities of *Egypt* and *India*, with references to the ancient geographers of the countries adjacent to the *Nile*, I cannot end this section more properly than with an account of the *Jainas*, and the three principal deities of that sect; but the subject is dark, because the *Brâhmens*, who abhor the followers of JINA, either know little of them, or are unwilling to make them the subject of conversation: what they have deigned to communicate, I now offer to the Society.

Toward the middle of the period named *Padmacalpa*, there was such a want of rain for many successive years, that the greatest part of mankind perished, and BRAHMA himself was grieved by the distress which prevailed in the universe: RIPUNJAYA then reigned in the west of *Cusha-dwîp*, and, seeing his kingdom desolate, came to end his days at *Câsî*. Here we may remark, that *Câsî*, or *the Splendid*, (a name retained by PTOLEMY in the word *Cassidia*,) is called *Banâres* by the *Moguls*, who have transposed two of the letters in its ancient epithet *Vârânesî*; a name in some degree preserved also by the *Greeks* in the word *Aornis* on the *Ganges*; for, when old *Câsî*, or *Cassidia*, was destroyed by BHAGAWAN, according to the *Purânas*, or by BACCHUS, according to DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, it was rebuilt at some distance from its former site, near a place called *Sivabar*, and had the name of *Vârânasî*, or
Aornis,

(a) Lib. 6. C. 6.

Aornis, which we find also written *Avernus*. The word *Vārānasī* may be taken, as some *Bráhmens* have conjectured, from the names of two rivulets, *Varuna* and *Asī*, between which the town stands; but more learned grammarians deduce it from *vara*, or *most excellent*, and *anas*, or *water*, whence come *Vārānasī*, an epithet of *Gangā*, and *Vārānasī* (formed by PA'NINI's rule) of the city raised on her bank. To proceed: BRA'HMA offered RIPUNJAYA the dominion of the whole earth, with *Cási* for his metropolis, directing him to collect the scattered remains of the human race, and to aid them in forming new settlements; telling him, that his name should thenceforth be DIVO'DA'SA, or *Servant of Heaven*. The wise prince was unwilling to accept so burdensome an office, and proposed as the condition of his acceptance, that the glory which he was to acquire, should be exclusively his own, and that no *Dévatā* should remain in his capital: BRA'HMA, not without reluctance, assented; and even MAHA'DE'VA, with his attendants, left their favourite abode at *Cási*, and retired to the *Mandara* hills near the source of the *Ganges*. The reign of DIVODAS began with acts of power, which alarmed the gods; he deposed the Sun and Moon from their seats, and appointed other regents of them, making also a new sort of fire: but the inhabitants of *Cási* were happy under his virtuous government. The deities, however, were jealous, and MAHA'DE'VA, impatient to revisit his beloved city, prevailed on them to assume different shapes, in order to seduce the king and his people. DE'vī tempted them, without success, in the forms of sixty-four *Yóginis*, or female anachorets: the twelve *A'dityas*, or Suns, undertook to corrupt them; but, ashamed of their failure, remained in the holy town: next appeared GANE'SA, commissioned by his father MAHA'DE'VA, in the garb of an astronomer, attended by others of his profession, and assisted by thirty-six *Vaináyacis*, or *Gánéśis*, who were his female descendants; and by their help he began to change the disposition

disposition of the people, and to prepare them for the coming of the three principal deities.

VISHNU came in the character of JINA, inveighing against sacrifices, prayers, pilgrimage, and the ceremonies prescribed by the *Vēda*, and asserting, that all true religion consisted in *killing no creature that had life*: his consort JAYA'DE'VÌ preached this new doctrine to her own sex; and the inhabitants of *Cāśi* were perplexed with doubts. He was followed by MAHA'DE'VA, in the form of ARHAN or MAHIMAN, accompanied by his wife MAHA'MA'NYA', with a multitude of male and female attendants: he supported the tenets of JINA, alleging his own superiority over BRA'HMA and VISHNU, and referring, for the truth of his allegation, to JINA himself, who fell prostrate before him; and they travelled together over the world, endeavouring to spread their heresies. At length appeared BRA'HMA in the figure of BUDDHA, whose consort was named VIJNY'A: he confirmed the principles inculcated by his predecessors, and, finding the people seduced, he began, in the capacity of a *Brahmen*, to corrupt the mind of the king. DIVO'DA'SA listened to him with complacency, lost his dominion, and gave way to MAHA'DE'VA, who returned to his former place of residence; but the deposed king, reflecting too late on his weakness, retired to the banks of the *Gómati*, where he built a fortress, and began to build a city on the same plan with *Cāśi*: the ruins of both are still to be seen near *Chanwoc*, about fourteen miles above the confluence of the *Gumti* with the *Ganges*, and about twenty to the north of *Benáres*. It is added, that MAHA'DE'VA having vainly contended with the numerous and obstinate followers of the new doctrine, resolved to exterminate them; and, for that purpose, took the shape of SANCARA, surnamed *A'chārya*, who explained the *Vēdas* to the people, destroyed the temples of the *Jainas*, caused their books to be burned, and massacred all who opposed them. This tale, which has been

been extracted from a book, entitled *Sancara prádurbhāva*, was manifestly invented for the purpose of aggrandizing SANCARA'CHA'RYA, whose exposition of the *Upanishads*, and comment on the *Védánta*, with other excellent works, in prose and verse, on the being and attributes of GOD, are still extant, and sedulously studied by the *Védanti* school : his disciples considered him as an incarnation of MAHA'DE'VA ; but he tarnished his brilliant character by fomenting the religious war, in which most of the persecuted *Jainas* were slain or expelled from these parts of *India* ; very few of them now remaining in the *Gangetick* provinces, or in the western peninsula, and those few living in penury and ignorance, apparently very wretched, and extremely reserved on all subjects of religion. These heterodox *Indians* are divided into three sects : the followers of JINA we find chiefly dispersed on the borders of *India* ; those of BUDDHA, in *Tibet*, and other vast regions to the north and east of it ; while those of ARHAN (who are said to have been anciently the most powerful of the three) now reside principally in *Siam*, and in other kingdoms of the eastern peninsula. ARHAN is reported to have left impressions of his feet on rocks in very remote countries, as monuments of his very extensive travels : the most remarkable of them is in the island of *Sinhal*, or *Silan*, and the *Siamese* revere it under the name of *Prapút*, from the *Sanscrit* word *Prapáda* ; but the *Bráhmens* insist, that it was made by the foot of RA'VANA. Another impression of a foot, about two cubits long, was to be seen, in the time of HERODOTUS, on the banks of the river *Tyras*, now called the *Dniester* : the people of that country were certainly *Bauddhas*, and their high-priest, who resided on mount *Cocajon*, at present named *Casjon*, was believed to be regenerate, exactly like the *Lama* of *Tibet*.

As to JINA, he is said by his followers to have assumed twenty-four *rúpas*, or *forms*, at the same time, for the purpose

purpose of disseminating his doctrine, but to have existed really and wholly in all and each of those forms at once, though in places very remote ; but those *rûpas* were of different orders, according to certain mysterious divisions of twenty-four, and the *forms* are considered as more or less perfect, according to the greater or less perfection of the component numbers and the several compounds ; the leading number being *three*, as an emblem of the *Trimûrti* : again, the twenty-four *rûpas*, multiplied by those numbers, which before were used as divisors, produce other *forms* ; and thus they exhibit the appearances of JINA in all possible varieties and permutations, comprising in them the different productions of nature.

Most of the *Brâhmens* insist, that the BUDDHA, who perverted DIVO'DA'SA, was not the *ninth* incarnation of VISHNU, whose name, some say, should be written BAUDDHA, or BO'DDHA ; but, not to mention the *Armacôsh*, the *Mugdhabôdh*, and the *Gitagôvinda*, in all of which the ninth *avatâr* is called BUDDHA, it is expressly declared in the *Bhâgavat*, that VISHNU should appear *ninthly* in the form of "BUDDHA, son of JINA, for the purpose of confounding the *Daityas* at a place named *Cîcata*, when the *Calî age* should be completely begun." On this passage it is only remarked by SRÎDHARA *Swâmi*, the celebrated commentator, that JINA and AJINA were two names of the same person, and that *Cîcata* was in the district of *Gayâ* ; but the *Pandits*, who assisted in the *Persian* translation of the *Bhâgavat*, gave the following account of the ninth *avatâra*. The *Daityas* had asked INDRA, by what means they could attain the dominion of the world ; and he had answered, that they could only attain it by sacrifice, purification, and piety : they made preparations accordingly for a solemn sacrifice, and a general ablution : but VISHNU, on the intercession of the *Dévas*, descended

ed in the shape of *Sannyasi*, named BUDDHA, with his hair braided in a knot on the crown of his head, wrapt a in squalid mantle, and with a broom in his hand. BUDDHA presented himself to the *Daityas*, and was kindly received by them; but, when they expressed their surprise at his foul vesture, and the singular implement which he carried, he told them, that *it was cruel, and consequently impious, to deprive any creature of life*; that, whatever might be said in the *Védas*, every sacrifice of an animal was an abomination, and that purification itself was wicked, because some small insect might be killed in bathing or washing cloth; that he never bathed, and constantly swept the ground before him, lest he should tread on some innocent reptile: he then expatiated on the inhumanity of giving pain to the playful and harmless kid, and reasoned with such eloquence, that the *Daityas* wept, and abandoned all thought of ablution and sacrifice. As this *Máyà*, or *illusive appearance*, of VISHNU, frustrated the ambitious project of the *Daityas*, one of BUDDHA's titles is the son of MA'YA: he is also named SA'CYSINHA, or the *Lion* of the race of *Sácyá*, from whom he descended; an appellation which seems to intimate, that he was a conqueror or a warrior, as well as a philosopher. Whether BUDDHA was a sage or a hero, the leader of a colony, or a whole colony personified, whether he was black or fair, whether his hair was curled or straight, if indeed he had any hair, (which a commentator on the *Bhágavat* denies), whether he appeared ten, or two hundred, or a thousand, years after CRISHNA, it is very certain, that he was not of the true *Indian* race; in all his images, and in the statues of *Bauddhas*, male and female, which are to be seen in many parts of these provinces, and in both peninsulas, there is an appearance of something *Egyptian* or *Ethiopian*; and both in features and dress, they differ widely from the ancient *Hindu* figures of heroes and demigods. SA'CYA has a resemblance in sound to SISAC, and we

find CHA'NAC abbreviated from CHA'NACYA; so that SISAC and SESONCHOSIS may be corrupted from SA'CY-ASINHA, with a transposition of some letters, which we know to be frequent in proper names, as in the word *Benâres*. Many of his statues in *India* are colossal, nearly naked, and usually represented sitting in a contemplative attitude: nor am I disinclined to believe, that the famed statue of MEMNON in *Egypt*, was erected in honour of MAHIMAN, which has MAHIMNA' in one of its oblique cases, and the *Greeks* could hardly have pronounced that word otherwise than MAIMNA or MEMNA. They certainly used *Mai* instead of *Mahà*; for HESYCHIUS expressly says, *Μαί, μεγάλη. Ἰνδοί*; and *Mai* signifies *great* even in modern *Coptick*. We are told, that MAHIMAN, by his wife MAHA'MA'NYA', had a son named SARMANA CARDAMA, who seems to be the SAMMANO CODOM of the *Bauddhas*, unless those last words be corrupted from SAMANEA GO'TAM, which are found in the *Amar-côsh* among BUDDHA'S names. CARDAM, which properly means *clay* or *mud*, was the first created man according to some *Indian* legends; but the *Purânas* mention about seven or eight, who claimed the priority of creation; and some *Hindus*, desirous of reconciling the contradiction, but unwilling to admit that the same fact is differently related, and the same person differently named, insist that each was the first man in his respective country. Be this as it may, CARDAMA lived in *Varuna-c'handa*, so called from his son VARUNA, the god of ocean, where we see the ground-work of the fable concerning PALÆMON, or MELICERTUS, grandson of CADMUS: now that *c'handa*, or division of *Jambu-dwîp*, comprised the modern *Persia*, *Syria*, and *Asia* the Less; in which countries we find many traces of MAHIMAN and his followers, in the stupendous edifices remarkable for their magnificence and solidity, which the *Greeks* ascribed to the *Cyclopes*. The walls of *Susa*, about sixteen miles in circumference, were built by the father of MEMNON;
the

the citadel was called *Memnonium*, and the town, *Memnonia*: the palace is represented by ÆLIAN as amazingly sumptuous; and STRABO compares its ancient walls, citadel, temples, and palace, to those of *Babylon*; a noble high road through the country was attributed to MEMNON; one tomb near *Troy* was supposed to be his, and another in *Syria*; the *Ethiopians*, according to DIODORUS of *Sicily*, claimed MEMNON as their countryman, and a nation in *Ethiopia* were styled *Memnones*; on the borders of that country and of *Egypt*, stood many old palaces, called *Memnonian*; part of *Thebes* had the name of *Memnonium*; and an astonishing building at *Abydos* was denominated MEMNON'S palace. STRABO says, that many supposed ISMANDES to have been the same with MEMNON, and consequently they must have thought the Labyrinth a *Memnonium* structure (a).

DIVODA'SA, pronounced in the popular dialects DIODA'S, reigned over some western districts of *Cussha-dwíp within*, which extended from the shores of the *Mediterranean* to the banks of the *Indus*; and he became, we find, the first mortal king of *Varânes*: he seems to have been the HERCULES DIODAS mentioned by EUSEBIUS, who flourished in *Phenice*, and, it is supposed, about 1524 years before our era; but, in my humble opinion, we cannot place any reliance on such chronological calculations; which always err on the side of antiquity. The three sects of JINA, MAHIMAN, and BUDDHA, whatever may be the difference between them, are all named BAUDDHAS; and as the chief law, in which, as the *Bráhmens* assert, they make virtue and religion consist, is to preserve the lives of all animated beings, we cannot but suppose, that the founder of their sect was BUDDHA, the ninth *avatâr*, who, in the *Agnipurán*, has the

(a) Herod. V. 54. Æl. XIII. 18. Diod. III. 69. Strab. XV. p. 728. XVII. p. 813.

the epithet of *Sacrīpa*, or Benevolent, and, in the *Gīta-góvinda*, that of *Sadaya-hrīdaya*, or Tender-hearted: it is added by JAYADEVA, that “he censured the whole “*Vēda*, because it prescribed the immolation of cattle.” This alone, we see, has not destroyed their veneration for him; but they contend that atheistical dogmas have been propagated by modern *Bauddhas*, who were either his disciples, or those of a younger BUDDHA, or so named from *buddhi*, because they admit no supreme divinity, but *intellect*; they add, that even the old *Jainas*, or *Jayanās*, acknowledged no gods but JYA, or Earth, and VISHNU, or Water; as DERIADES (perhaps DURYODHAN) is introduced by NONNUS, boasting that Water and Earth were his only deities, and reviling his adversaries, for entertaining a different opinion (*a*); so that the *Indian* war, described in the *Dionysiacks*, arose probably from a religious quarrel. Either the old *Bauddhas* were the same with the *Cūtila-cēsas*, or nearly allied to them; and we may suspect some affinity between them and the *Pālis*, because the sacred language of *Siam*, in which the laws of the *Bauddhas* are composed, is properly named *Pāli*: but a complete account of BUDDHA will then only be given, when some studious man shall collect all that relates to him in the *Sanscrit* books, particularly in the *Vāyu-purān*, and shall compare his authorities with the testimonies drawn from other sources by KÆMPFER, GIORGI, TACHARD, DE LA LOUBERE, and by such as have access to the literature of *China*, *Siam*, and *Japan*.

SECTION THE THIRD.

We come now to the demigods, heroes, and sages, who at different times visited *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; some as vindictive conquerors, and some as instructors in religion and morality.

I. PE'T'HÍNA'S, or PÍT'HE'NA'S, was a *Rĩshi*, or holy man, who had long resided near Mount *Himálaya*, but at length retired to the places of pilgrimage on the banks of the *Cáli*, designing to end his days there in the discharge of his religious duties: his virtues were so transcendent, that the inhabitants of the countries bordering on that river, insisted on his becoming their sovereign, and his descendants reigned over them to the *thirteenth* generation; but his immediate successor was only his adopted son. The following series of *fifteen* kings may constitute, perhaps, the dynasty; which, in the history of *Egypt*, is called the *Cynick Circle*:

PE'T'HÍNA'S.

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Paít'hínáś, | <i>Crĩtriménás,</i> |
| <i>Ishténás,</i> | 10 <i>Carmanyénás,</i> |
| <i>Yashténás,</i> | <i>Pít'híni,</i> |
| 5 <i>Cashténás,</i> | <i>Pát'híni,</i> |
| <i>Fushténás,</i> | <i>Páttiyam'suca,</i> |
| <i>Pushténás,</i> | <i>Pé't'hí-s'uca,</i> |
| <i>Sushténás,</i> | 15 <i>Mé'd'hí-s'uca.</i> |

Each of those princes is believed to have built a place of worship, near which he usually resided; but of the fifteen temples, or consecrated edifices, we can only ascertain the situation of *seven* with any degree of accuracy.

The founder of the family was a pious and excellent prince, observing in all respects the ordinances of the *Vēda*: his name is to this day highly venerated by the *Brāhmens*; many sacerdotal families in *India* boast of their descent from him; and the laws of PAIT'HĪNASI are still extant, in an ancient style, and in modulated prose, among the many tracts which collectively form the *Dherma-Sāstra*. It must be observed, that he was often called PĪT'HE'RĪSHI, or PĪT'HERSHI; and his place of residence, *Pīt'hé-rīshi-st'hán*; but the short vowel *rĭ* has the sound of *rŭ* in the western pronunciation, like the first syllable of *Richard* in some *English* counties: thus, in parts of *India*, *amrĭta*, or *ambrosia*, is pronounced *amrŭt*, whence I conjecture, that the seat of *Pit'hé-rushī* was the *Pathros* of Scripture, called *Phatures* by the Seventy, and *Phatori* by EUSEBIUS, which gave its appellation to the *Phaturitic* nome of PLINY. Some imagine *Phaturis* to have been *Thebes*, or *Diospolis*; but PLINY mentions them both as distinct places, though, from his context, it appears that they could not be far asunder; and I suppose *Phaturis* to be no other than the *Tathyrīs* of PTOLEMY, which he places at no great distance from the *Memnonium*, or western suburb of *Thebes*; and in the time of PTOLEMY, the nome of *Phaturis* had been annexed to that of *Diospolis*, so that its capital city became of little importance: we took notice, in the first Section, that the *Ethiopians*, who, from a defect in their articulation, say TAULOS instead of PAULOS, would have pronounced *Tithoes* for *Pithoes*, and *Tathuris* for *Pathuris*.

Though we before gave some account of the fabulous RA'HU and the *Grahas*, yet it may not be superfluous to relate their story in this place at greater length. RA'HU was the son of CAS'YAPA and DITI, according to some authorities: but others represent SINHICA' (perhaps, the *Sphinx*) as his natural mother: he had four arms; his

lower parts ended in a tail like that of a dragon; and his aspect was grim and gloomy, like the *darkness* of the chaos, whence he had also the name of TAMAS. He was the adviser of all mischief among the *Daityas*, who had a regard for him; but among the *Dévatás* it was his chief delight to sow dissention; and, when the gods had produced the *amrit* by churning the ocean, he disguised himself like one of them, and received a portion of it; but, the Sun and Moon having discovered his fraud, VISHNU severed his head and two of his arms from the rest of his monstrous body. That part of the nectarious fluid which he had time to swallow, secured his immortality: his trunk and dragon-like tail fell on the mountain of *Malaya*, where MINI, a *Bráhmen*, carefully preserved them by the name of CE'TU; and, as if a complete body had been formed from them, like a dismembered polype, he is even said to have adopted CE'TU as his own child. The head with two arms fell on the sands of BARBARA, where PÍT'HE'NA'S was then walking with SINHICA', by some called his wife: they carried the *Daitya* to their palace, and adopted him as their son; whence he acquired the name of PAIT'HE'NASI. This extravagant fable is, no doubt, astronomical; RA'HU and CE'TU being clearly the *nodes*, or what astrologers call the *head* and *tail* of the dragon: it is added, that they appeased VISHNU, and obtained re-admission to the firmament, but were no longer visible from the earth, their enlightened sides being turned from it; that RA'HU strives, during eclipses, to wreak vengeance on the Sun and Moon, who detected him; and that CE'TU often appears as a comet, a whirlwind, a fiery meteor, a water-spout, or a column of sand. From PAITHI'NA'S the *Greeks* appear to have made *Pythos* in their oblique case; but they seem to have confounded the stories of PYTHON and TYPHON, uniting two distinct persons in one (*a*). PAIT'HE'NASI, who reigned

(*a*) Plut. Isis and Osiris.

reigned on the banks of the *Cáli* after PIT'HE'NAS, his protector, I suppose to be TYPHON, TYPHAON, or TYPHÆUS: he was an usurper and a tyrant, oppressing the *Dévatás*, encouraging the *Daityas*, and suffering the *Védas* to be neglected. HERODOTUS represents him, like RA'HU, as constantly endeavouring to destroy APOLLO and DIANA, (a); and the Mythologists add, that he was thunderstruck by JUPITER, and fell into the quicksands of the lake *Sirbonis*, called also *Sirbon* and *Sarbonis*: now *Swarbhánu*, one of his names, signifies *Light of Heaven*, and, in that character, he answers to LUCIFER. The fall of that rebellious angel is described by ISAIAH, who introduces him saying, that "he would exalt his throne above the stars of God, and would sit on the mount of the congregation in the sides of the North." The heavenly *Méru* of the *Puránas*, where the principal *Dévas* are supposed to be seated, is not only in the North, but has also the name of *Sabhá*, or the congregation. Fifty-six comets are said, in the *Chintámani*, to have sprung from CE'TU; and RA'HU had a numerous progeny of *Gráhas*, or crocodiles. We are told by ÆLIAN, that TYPHON assumed the form of a crocodile, (b,) and RA'HU was often represented in the shape of that animal, though he is generally described as a dragon. The constellation of the dragon is by the *Japanese* called the *Crocodile*; and the sixth year of the *Tartarian* cycle has the same appellation: it is the very year which the *Tibetians* name the year of Lightning, alluding to the dragon, who was stricken by it (c). A real tyrant of *Egypt* was, probably, supposed to be RA'HU, or TYPHON, in a human shape; for we find, that he was actually expelled from that country together with his *Gráhas*: I have not yet been able to procure a particular account of their expulsion. The *st'hán* of
RA'HU,

(a) B. 2. C. 156.

(b) On Animals, B. 10. C. 21.

(c) Alphab. Tibet. p. 463.

RA'HU, or PAITHI'NASI, named also PAIT'HI, seems to have been the town of *Pithom* on the borders of *Egypt*: the *Seventy* wrote it *Peitho*, and HERODOTUS calls it *Patumos*; but, the *second* case in *Sanscrit* being generally affected in the western dialects, we find it written *Phithom* by the old *Latin* interpreter, *Fithom* by HIERONYMUS, and *Pethom* in the *Coptick* translation. The *Greek* name of that city was *Heroöpolis*, or according to STRABO, *Heroön*; but we are informed by STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, (a,) that, "when TYPHON was smitten by lightning, and blood (αἷμα) flowed from his wounds, the place where he fell was thence called *Hæmus*, though it had likewise the name of *Hero*:" so the station of RA'HU was on the spot where PR'T'HE'NA'S and SINGHICA' found his bloody head rolling on the sands; and, if *Singhicá*, or the *Woman like a Lioness*, be the *Sphinx*, the monstrous head, which the *Arabs* call *Abu'lhaul*, or *Father of Terror*, may have been intended for that of RA'HU, and not, as it is commonly believed, for his mother. Though the people of *Egypt* abhorred TYPHON, yet fear made them worship him; and in early times they offered him human victims: the *Greeks* say, that he had a *red* complexion, and mention his expulsion from *Egypt*, but add a strange story of his arrival in *Palestine*, and of his three sons. We must not, however, confound RA'HU with MAHA'DE'VA, who, in his destructive character, was called also TYPHON; though it be difficult sometimes to distinguish them: several places in *Egypt* were dedicated to a divinity named TYPHON; as the *Tyaphonian* places between *Tentyra* and *Coptos*; and the tower of *Melite*, where daily sacrifices were made to a dragon so terrible, that no mortal durst look on him; the legends of the temple relating, that a man, who had once the temerity to enter the recesses of it, was so terrified by the sight of the monster, that he soon expired (b).
Melite,

(a) Under the word 'Hḡw.

(b) *Ælian* on Animals, B. 11. C. 17.

Melite, I presume, was in that part of the *Delta* which had been peopled by a colony from *Miletus*; and was, probably, the *Milesian* wall or fort near the sea-shore, mentioned by STRABO.

The usurper was succeeded by ISHTE'NA's, the real son of PI'T'HE'NA's, who had also a daughter named PAIT'HE'NÌ; and her story is related thus in the *Brahmānda-purān*. From her earliest youth she was distinguished for piety, especially towards MAHA'DE'VA, on whom her heart was ever intent; and, at the great festival, when all the nation resorted to *Cardamast'hali*, or *Thebes*, the princess never failed to sing and dance before the image of CARDAME'SWARA: the goddess ISWARÌ was so pleased with her behaviour, that she made PAIT'HE'NÌ her *Sac'hì*, or female companion; and the damsel used to dance thrice a day in the *mud* before the gate of the temple, but with such lightness and address as never to soil her mantle. She died a virgin, having devoted her life to the service of the god and his consort. The female patronymick PAIT'HE'NI comes from PIT'H', or PIT'HE'NA, but from PIT'HE'NA's the derivative form would be PAITHE'NASÌ; and thence NONNUS calls her PEITHIANASSA, and describes her as a handmaid of SEMELE, the daughter of CADMUS, in which character she received JUNO, (a,) who was devising the ruin of SEMELE, and with that intent had assumed the form of a loquacious nurse: this passage in the *Dionysiacks* is very interesting, as it proves, in my opinion, that the SEMELE and CADMUS of the *Greeks*, were the same with the SYA'MALA and CARDAMA of the *Hindus*.

The *fourteenth* prince of this dynasty was devoted from his infancy to the worship of I'SWARA, on whom his mind was perpetually fixed, so that he became insensible

(a) *Dionysiac*. B. 8. v. 193.

sensible of all worldly affections, and indifferent both to the praise and censure of men : he used, therefore, to wander over the country, sometimes dwelling on hills and in woods, sometimes in a bower, rarely in a house, and appearing like an idiot in the eyes of the vulgar, who, in ridicule of his idle talk and behaviour, called him *Pét'hî'suca*, *Panjara-suca*, or *Sâlâ-suca*, meaning the *parrot* in a *chest*, a *cage*, or a *house*, which names he always retained. When he grew up, and sat on the throne, he governed his people equitably and wisely, restraining the vicious by his just severity, and instructing the ignorant in morals and religion : by his wife MA'RISHA' he had a son called ME'D'HI-SUCA, to whom at length he resigned his kingdom, and, by the favour of I'SWARA, became *jîvanmuktâ*, or *released*, even *during life*, from all encumbrances of matter ; but the story of MA'RISHA' and his son has been related in a preceding section. *Méd'hi*, or *Mér'hi*, means a pillar, or a *post to which victims are tied*, or any straight pole perpendicularly fixed in the ground ; and *Pattyam*, I believe, signifies a cross stick, or a wooden bar placed horizontally ; so that *Pattyam-suca* might have meant the *parrot on a perch* ; but why the *thirteenth* prince had that appellation, I am not yet informed. SUCA is also a proper name ; the son of VYA'SA, and principal speaker in the *Bhâgavat*, being called SUCA-DE'VA. Now many *obelisks* in *Egypt* were said to have been raised by a king named SUCHIS, (a) ; and the famous labyrinth to have been constructed by King PETESUCCUS (b). By *Mérhi* we may certainly understand either a pillar or an obelisk, or a slender and lofty tower like the *Menârahs* of the *Muselmans*, or even a high building in a pyramidal form. The *Hindus* assert, that each of the three SUCAS had a particular edifice ascribed to him ; and we can hardly doubt, that the

ſ'hân

(a) Plin. L. 36, C. 8.

(b) Plin. L. 36. C. 13.

Shán of PE'THI-SUCA was the Labyrinth: if the three names of that prince have any allusion to the building, we may apply *Sálá*, or mansion, to the whole of it; *Panjara*, or cage, to the lower story; and *Pét'hi*, or chest, to the various apartments under ground, called the chests, or *coffins*, of the sacred crocodiles, called *Sukhus*, or *Sukhis*, in old *Egyptian* (a,) and *Soukh* to this day in *Coptick*, were carefully deposited. HESYCHIUS, indeed, says, that *Buti* signified a chest, or coffin, in *Egyptian*; but that, perhaps, must be understood of the vulgar dialect: the modern *Copts* call a chest *be-ut*, or, with their article, *tabút*; a word which the *Arabs* have borrowed. When PLINY informs us, that PETESUCCUS was named also TITHOES, we must either read PITHOES, from PE'T'HI, or impute the change of the initial letter to the defective articulation of the *Ethiopians*, who frequently invaded *Egypt*. From the account given by HERODOTUS, we may conjecture, that the coffins of the *sacred crocodiles*, as they were called, contained, in fact, the bodies of those princes, whom both *Egyptians* and *Hindus* named *Sucas*, though *suc* means a parrot in *San scrit*, and a crocodile in the *Coptick* dialect: the *San scrit* words for a crocodile are *Cumbhíra* and *Nacra*, to which some expositors of the *Amarcósh* add *Avagraha* and *Gráha*; but, if the royal name was symbolical, and implied a peculiar ability to *seize* and *hold*, the symbol might be taken from a bird of prey, as well as from the lizard-kind; especially as a sect of *Egyptians* abhorred the crocodile, and would not have applied it as an emblem of any legal and respectable power, which they would rather have expressed by a hawk, or some distinguished bird of that order: others, indeed, worshipped crocodiles, and I am told, that the very legend before us, framed according to their notions, may be found in some of the *Puránas*.

We

(a) STRABO, B. 17. p. 811. DAMASCIUS, Life of ISIDORUS.

We find then three kings, named *SUCAS*, or *parrots*, living in a *house* or a *cage*, or resting either on an *upright pole*, or on one with a *cross-bar*: but who they were, it is not my present object, nor am I now able, to investigate: I will only observe, that besides the king of *Egypt*, whom *PLINY* calls *SUCHIS*, or *SOCHIS*, the father of the *Curetes*, is named *SOCHUS* by a *Greek* lexicographer, and *SOCUS* by the author of the *Dionysiacks*; and that he was one of the *Cabires* or *Cuvéras*, who (or at least some of whom) inhabited in former ages the countries adjacent to the *Nile*.

The ruins of that wonderful building, called the Labyrinth, are still to be seen, near the lake *Mæris*, at a place which the *Arabs* have named the *Kasr*, or palace, of *KĀ'RU'N*, whom they suppose to have been the richest of mortals; as the ruins of *ME'DHI-SU'CA-ST'hân* are in a district named the *Belâd*, or country, of the same personage: the place last mentioned is, most probably, the labyrinth built, according to *DAMOTELES* in *PLINY*, by *MOTHERUDES*, a name derived, I imagine, from *MEDHI-RUSHI*. The town of *Metacamso*, mentioned by *PTOLEMY* as opposite to *Pselchis*, above *Syene*, seems to have had some connection with *Medhi-suca*; for *camsa* and *suca* were synonymous in the old *Egyptian*: *HERODOTUS* at least informs us, that *camsa* meant a crocodile in that language; and it appears related to *timfâh* in *Arabic*. *Patyam* (for so the long compound is often abbreviated) seems to have been the labyrinth near *Arsinoe*, or *Crocodilopis*, now *Fayum*, which word I suppose corrupted from *Patyam*, or *Phatyam*, as the *Copts* would have pronounced it; and my *Pandit* inclines also to think, that the building might have been thus denominated from large pieces of stone or timber projecting, like *patyas*, before the windows, in order to support the frames of a balcony, which, as a new invention, must have attracted the
notice

notice of beholders. As to the lake of MÆRIS, I have already exhibited all that I have yet found concerning it. The stupendous pyramid, said to have been six hundred feet high, in the midst of that lake, was raised, we are told, by a king named MÆRIS, MYRIS, MARROS, MAINDES, MENDES, and IMANDES (*a*;) a strong instance of one name variously corrupted; and I have no doubt, that the original of all those variations was MERHI, or MEDHI. Even to this day in *India*, the pillars, or obelisks, often raised in the middle of tanks, or pools, are called *Mérhis*; but let us proceed to another legend faithfully extracted from the *Mahá calpa*, in which we see, beyond a doubt, the affinity of *Indian*, *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Mythology.

II. On the mountains of *Jwálámuc'ha*, in the interior *Cussha-dwîp*, reigned a virtuous and religious prince, named C'HARVANA'YANA's, whose son, CAPE'YANA's, preferred arms and hunting, in which he was continually engaged, to the study of the *Véda*, and was so frequently concerned in contests and affrays with his neighbours, that his father, after many vain admonitions, banished him from his palace and his kingdom: the dauntless young exile retired to the deserts, and at length reached *Mócshésa*, believed to be *Mecca*, where, hungry and fatigued, he bathed in the *Mócsha-tírt'ha*, or consecrated well, and passed the night without sleep. VISVACSE'NA, then sovereign of that country, had an only daughter, PADMAMUC'HÌ, or with *a face like a lotos*, who went to perform religious rites to MAHA'DE'VA, god of the temple and the well; and there seeing the prince, she brought him refreshment, and heard his adventures: their interview ended in mutual love, and the old king, who denied her nothing, consented to their marriage, which was solemnized with the ceremony of *Pánigraha*, or *taking hands*; and the young pair lived many years happily

(*a*) STRABO, B. 17. p. 811. Diod. Sic. B. 1. p. 55.

pily in the palace of their father. It happened some time after, that the city was besieged by two kings of the *Dánavas* with a numerous army: but CAPE'YANA'S entirely defeated them: the venerable monarch met his brave son-in-law returning with conquest, and, having resigned the throne to him, went to the banks of the *Cáli*, accompanied by his wife, and entered with her into the *third* order, called *Vánaprest'ha*, or that of *hermits*, in which they passed the remainder of their lives, and, after death, obtained *laya*, or *union with the supreme spirit*; whence their station was named *Layaśt'hán*, or *Layavatì*, and was visited, for ages after, by such as hoped for beatitude. CAPE'YANA, or CAPE'NAS, (for he is differently named in the same book,) adhered so strictly to justice, and governed so mildly, that he was respected by his neighbours, and beloved by his subjects; yet he became a great conqueror, always protecting the weak, and punishing their oppressors. All the princes to the east of *Mócshéśa* paid him tribute; but CA'LASE'NA, king of the exterior *Cusha-dwíp*, having insolently refused to become his tributary, he invaded *Abyssinia*, and, after a very long battle, at a place named *Ranótśava*, or the *festival of combat*, wholly defeated CA'LASE'NA, whom he replaced on his throne, exacting only a regular acknowledgment of his dominion paramount: then, following the course of the *Cáli* river, he came to *Barbara*, or the burning sands of *Nubia*, the king of which country was GULMA, one of the *Tamóvanśas*, or the son of MA'NDYA, who was the son of TAMAS, or SANI, by his wife JARAT'HA'; but from GULMA he met with no resistance, for the wise king laid his diadem at the feet of CAPE'NAS, who restored it, and desired his company, as a friend, in his expedition to *Misra-śt'hán*. The sovereign of *Misra* was at that time RANASU'RA, who, disdaining submission, sent his son RANADURMADA with a great force against CAPE'NAS, and soon followed him at the head of a more powerful army: an obstinate battle was fought, at a place called afterwards *Ghóra-śt'hán*,

ſt'hán, from the *horror* of the carnage; but RANASU'RA was killed, and his troops entirely routed. The conqueror placed the prince on the throne of *Misra*, the capital of which was then called *Viſva-círti-pura*, or the city of *Universal Fame*; and, having carried immense treasures to *Mócſhéſa*, he dedicated them to the God of the temple, reſolving to end his days in peaceful devotion: by PADMAMUC'HÌ he had a daughter named ANTARMADA', and a ſon, BHA'LE'YANA's, to whom, after the example of ancient monarchs, he reſigned his kingdom, when he grew old, and prepared himſelf for a better life.

Before his death he was very deſirous of performing the great *ſacrifice of a horſe*, called *Aſwamédha*, but conſiderable difficulties uſually attended that ceremony: for the conſecrated horſe was to be ſet at liberty for a certain time, and followed at a diſtance by the owner, or his champion, who was uſually one of his near kiſmen; and, if any perſon ſhould attempt to ſtop it in its rambles, a battle muſt inevitably enſue: beſides, as the performer of a hundred *Aſwamédhas* became equal to the God of the firmament, INDRA was perpetually on the watch, and generally carried off the ſacred animal by force or by fraud; though he could not prevent BELI from completing his hundredth ſacrifice; and that monarch put the ſupremacy of the *Dévas* to proof, at the time, when the *Padmá-mandira* was built on the banks of the *Cumudvatì*; nor did he prevail againſt RAGHU, whoſe combat with INDRA himſelf is deſcribed by CA'LIDA's in a ſtyle perfectly *Homerick*. The great age of CAPE'NAS obliged him to employ his ſon in that perilous and delicate ſervice; but INDRA contrived to purloin the horſe, and BHA'LE'YANA's reſolved never to ſee his father or kingdom, unleſs he could recover the myſtical victim: he wandered, therefore, through foreſts and over deſerts, till he came to the bank of the *Ganges* near *Avaca-pura*, or *Alacá-purì*, about twelve *crós* N. N. W. of *Badarí-nái'h*;

nát'h ; and there in the agonies of despondence, he threw himself on the ground, wishing for death ; but GANGA', the river-goddes, appeared to him, commanded him to return home, and assured him, that he should have a son, whom she would adopt by the name of GA'NGE'YANA'S, who should overcome INDRA, and restore the horse to his grandfather. Her prediction was in due time accomplished ; and the young hero defeated the army of INDRA in a pitched battle near the river *Cáli*, whence he acquired the title of VIRAUJA-JIT, or vanquisher of INDRA : the field of *battle* was thence named *Samara-st'hán* ; and is also called *Virásaya*, because the flower of *heroes* had been there lulled in the *sleep* of death. BHA'LE'YANA'S, having a very religious turn of mind, placed his son on the throne ; and, observing that his sister ANTARMADA' had the same inclinations, retired with her to the forest of *Tapas*, in Upper *Egypt* ; both intending to close their days in devout austerities, and in meditation on the supreme spirit. MA'YA'-DE'VÌ, or the goddess of worldly illusion, who resembles the APHRODITE *Pandemos* of the *Greeks*, and totally differs from JNYA'NA-DE'VI, or the goddess of celestial wisdom, attempted to disturb them, and to prevent them from reaping the fruit of their piety ; but she was unable to prevail over the fervent devotion of the two royal anchorites. Her failure of success, however, gave her an unexpected advantage ; for ANTARMADA' became too much elated with *internal pride*, which her name implies ; and, boasting of her victory over MA'YA'-DE'VÌ, she added, that the inhabitants of the three worlds would pay her homage, that she should be like ARUNDHATÌ, the celebrated consort of VASISHT'HA, and that, after her death, she should have a seat in the starry mansion : this vaunt provoked MA'YA'-DE'VÌ to a phrenzy of rage ; and she flew to AURVA, requesting him to set on fire the forests of *Tapas* ; but VISHNU, in the shape of a hollow conical mountain,

surrounded the princess, and saved her from the flames; whence the place, where she stood, was called the *st'hán* of *Ch'háditá*, or the *covered*, and *Periracshitá*, or the *guarded on all sides*. The enraged goddess then sent a furious tempest; but VISHNU, assuming the form of a large tree, secured her with its trunk and branches at a place thence named *Racshitá-st'hána*. MA'YA'DE'vì, however, seized her, and cast her into a certain sea, which had afterwards the name of *Amagna*, because VISHNU endued its waters with a power of supporting her on their surface; and they have ever since retained that property, so that *nothing sinks* in them.

The fourth and last machination was the most dangerous and malignant: DE'vì carried ANTARMADA' to the sea-shore, and chained her to a rock, that she might be devoured by a *Gráha*, or sea-monster; but VISHNU, ever vigilant to preserve her, animated a young hero, named PA'RASICA, who slew the monster, and released the intended victim, at a place named, from her deliverance, *Uddhára-st'hán*. He conducted her to his own country, and married her at a place called *Páni-graha*, because he there *took her by the hand* in the nuptial ceremony: they passed through life happily, and after death, were both seated among the stars, together with CAPE'NAS and PADMAMUC'HÍ, who had also the patronymick of CA'SYAPÍ. Among the immediate descendants of PA'RASICA and ANTARMADA', we find VA'RASICA and RASICA, who reigned successively. TIMICA and BHA'LUCA, who travelled, as merchants, into distant countries, and BHA'LUCA'YANI, who seems to have been the last of the race.

The pedigree of CAPE'NAS has been carefully preserved; and many *Bráhmens* are proud of their descent from him:

CAS'YAPA.

CAS'YAPA and ADITI.

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| 'Sândilāyanās, | | Maunjāyanās, | |
| Côhalāyanās, | | Jānavanśāyanās, | |
| Pāyacāyanās, | | Vānyavatśāyanās, | |
| Daitēyāyanās, | | C'harvanāyanās, | 15. |
| Audamôghāyanās, | 5. | CAPE'YANA'S, | |
| Mútrāyanās, | | Bhālēyanās, | |
| Vacyasāndhāyanās, | | Gāngēyanās, | |
| C'harvagāyanās, | | Satrugāyanās, | |
| Cārushāyanās, | | Vailāyanās. | 20. |
| Vārtāyanās, | 10. | Jānghrāyanās, | |
| Vātsānāyanās, | | Cānsāyanās. | |

A twenty-third prince, named CANSALA'YANA'S, is added in some genealogical tables.

This is manifestly the same story with that of CEPHEUS and CASSIOPEA, PERSEUS and ANDROMEDA. The first name was written CAPHEUS, or CAPHYEUS, by the *Arcadians* (a,) and is clearly taken from CAPE'YA, the termination *nās* being frequently rejected. Some assert, that he left no male issue; and APOLLODORUS only says, that he had a daughter, named STEROPE, the same, I presume, with ANDROMEDA. The wife of CAPE'YA was either descended herself from CASYAPA, or was named CA'SYAPÍ, after her marriage with a prince of that lineage. PA'RASICA is declared in the *Purānas* to have been so called, because he came from *para*, or *beyond*, that is from beyond the river *Cālì*, or from the west of it; since it appears from the context, that he travelled from west to east: the countries on *this side* of the *Nile*, with respect to *India*, have thence been denominated *Arva-*
st'hán,

(a) Pausan, Arcad.

sthân, or, as the *Persians* write it, *Arabistân*; while those nations who were seated on the other side of it, were called *Pârasicâh*, and hence came the *Pharusû*, or *Persæ*, of *Lybia*, who are said by *PLINY* to have been of *Persian* origin, or descended from *PERSEUS*, the chief scene of whose achievements was all the country from the western bank of the *Nile* to the ocean; but I do not believe that the word *Pârasicâh* has any relation to the *Persians*, who in *Sanscrit* are called *Pârasâh*, or inhabitants of *Parasa*, and sometimes *Pârasavâh*, which may be deriyed from *PARASU*, or *Parasvâh*, from their excellent horses. I must not omit, that *Arva-sthân*, or *Arabia*, is by some derived from *Arvan*, which signifies a fine horse, the final letter being omitted in composition. *ARVAN* is also the name of an ancient sage, believed to be a son of *BRAHMA*.

In order to prove, by every species of evidence, the identity of the *Grecian* and *Indian* fables, I one night requested my *Pandit*, who is a learned astronomer, to show me among the stars the constellation of *Antarmadâ*; and he instantly pointed to *Andromeda*, which I had taken care not to show him first as an asterism, with which I was acquainted: he afterwards brought me a very rare, and wonderfully curious, book in *Sanscrit*, with a distinct chapter on the *Upanacshatras*, or constellations out of the *Zodiack*, and with delineations of *CAPE'YA*, of *CA'SYAPÎ* seated, with a lotos-flower in her hand, of *ANTARMADA'*, chained with the fish near her, and of *PA'RASI'CA* holding the head of a monster, which he had slain in battle, dropping blood, with snakes instead of hair, according to the explanation given in the book: but let us return to the geography of the *Purânas*.

We mentioned, in the first Section, the two *Jwálámuc'hís*, near one of which the father of CAPE'YANA'S resided: the *Jwálámuc'hì*, now *Corcúr*, which was also named *Anáyásá-dévis't'hán*, was at no great distance from the *Tigris*, and seems, as we intimated before, to be the τῆς Ἀναίας Ἰερὸν of STRABO (a.) I suppose it to be the original *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*; original, I say, because there were several places of that name, both in *Syria* and *Chaldea*, where superstitious honours were paid to fire, either natural or artificial. The epithet *great* is applied in some *Puránas* to this *Jwálámuc'hì*, and in others to that near *Baku*: to this, perhaps, by way of eminence in sanctity; and to that, because its flames were more extended and fiercer. *Laya-st'hán*, or *Laya-vati*, where VISVACSE'NA closed his days near the *Cáli*, we have also mentioned in a preceding Section; and it was, probably, the *Lete* of JOSEPHUS (b,) or some place very near it. STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* calls it *Letopolis*, or *Latopolis*, and says, that it was a suburb of *Memphis* near the *Pyramids* (c.) *Ghóra-st'hán* is yet unknown: it could not have been very far from *Viswa-círti pura*; but *universal fame* is applicable to so many cities of *Egypt*, that we cannot appropriate it to any one of them. Of *Tapas* and *Tapóvana* we have already spoken; and *Ch'hádita*, or *Periracshitá*, must have been in those forests of *Thebais*: the tree of *Racshitá* was, possibly, the Holy Sycamore mentioned by PLINY, fifty-four miles above *Syene*, on the banks of the *Nile* (d.) The sea of *Amagna* was, most probably, the *Asphaltite* lake, the waters of which had, and, some assert, have to this day, so buoyant a quality, that nothing could sink in them: MAUNDREL takes particular notice of this wonderful property. That lake was not far from *Uddhára-st'hán*, or *Joppe*, where *Andromeda* was chained to a rock: PLINY says, that the place of her
confinement

(a) B. 17. p. 738. (b) B. 2. (c) B. 17. (d) Plin. L. 6. C. 29.

confinement and deliverance was shown there in his time (a;) and the Sanscrit word *Yampá*, which the Arabs pronounce *Yáfah*, and Europeans call *Joppa*, means *deliverance from imminent danger*. On the Egyptian shore, opposite to *Joppa*, was a place called the *Watch-tower of PERSEUS*: by *Gráha*, a crocodile or a shark, we may understand also one of RA'HU's descendants, among whom the females were the *Graiaí*, or *Grææ* of the western mythologists. *Pánigrahá* was, I suppose, the town of *Panopolis*, which could have no relation to the God PAN: for HERODOTUS, who had been there, informs us, that it was called both *Panopolis* and *Chemmis*; that the inhabitants of it paid divine honours to PERSEUS, and boasted that he was born in it; but had PAN, of whom that historian frequently speaks, been the tutelary god of the town, he would certainly have mentioned that fact: in the acts of the council of *Ephesus*, we find that SABINUS was *Panis Episcopus*, as if one named of the town had been *Pani* or *Panis*; and it might have been anciently named *Páni-gríha*, the *mansion or place of the hand*, that is of *wedlock*, which the Greeks would of course translate *Panopolis*; as we find *Rája-gríha* rendered *Rája-mahall* in the same sense. On the banks of the *Niger* was another town of that name, called *Panagra* by PTOLEMY; and, to the north of it, we see *Timica*, *Rufikibár*, *Rufuccurum*, and *Ruficade*, which have a great affinity with TIMICA and RASICA, before mentioned as descended from PERSEUS: both *Rasícbar* and *Rasícgher* are Indian appellations of places; the first meaning the *enclosed ground or orchard*, and the second, (which is a corruption from the Sanscrit) the *house of Rasica*. Great confusion has arisen in the geography of India from the resemblance in sound of *gher*, a house, *gerh*, a fortress, and the second syllable of *nagar*, a town; thus *Crishna-nagar* is pronounced *Kishna gher*, and *Ram-*
F f 2 *nagar*,

(a) L. 5. C. 13, and 31. See also *Josephus*, *Strabo*, *Mela*.

nagar, *Ramna-gher*, both very erroneously ; so *Bisnagar* was probably *Vishnu-nagar*, or *Visva-nagar* : we must be-ware of this, and the like, confusion, when we examine the many names of places in *Lybia*, and other parts of *Africa*, which are either pure *Sanscrit*, or in such of the dialects as are spoken in the west of *India*.

Let us conclude this article with observing, that the great extent of CAPE'YA's empire appears from the *Greek* Mythologists and other ancient writers ; for the most considerable part of *Africa* was called *Cephenia*, from his full name CAPE'YANAS ; the *Persians* from him were styled *Cephenes* ; and a district in the south of *Armenia* was denominated *Cephene* ; a passage also in *PLINY* shows, that his dominion included *Ethiopia*, *Syria*, and the intermediate countries : “ *Ethiopia*,
“ says he, was worn out by the wars of the *Egyptians*,
“ alternately ruling and serving ; it was famed,
“ however, and powerful even to the *Trojan* wars in
“ the reign of MEMNON ; and that, in the time of
“ king CEPHEUS, it had command over *Syria*, and
“ on our coast, is evident from the fables of ANDRO-
“ MEDA.”

III. The following legend is taken from the *Ma-hâcalpâ*, and is there said expressly to be an *Egyptian* story. An ancient king, who was named CHATURA-YANA, because he was a perfect master of the *four Vêdas*, to which name VATSA was usually prefixed, because he was descended from VATSA, a celebrated sage, passed a hundred years in a dark cavern of *Crishna-giri*, or the Black Mountain, on the banks of the *Câlî*, performing the most rigorous acts of devotion : at length VISHNU, surnamed GUHA'SAYA, or a dwelling in caves, appeared to him, and promised him, all that he desired, *male issue* ; adding, that his son should be named TAMO'VATSA, in allusion to the *darkness*, in which his father had so long practised religious austerities. TA-

MO'VATSA

MO'VATSA became a warlike and ambitious, but wise and devout, prince: he performed austere acts of humiliation to VISHNU, with a desire of enlarging his empire; and the God granted his boon. Having heard that *Misra-st'hán* was governed by NIRMARYA'DA, (a name, which may possibly be the origin of NIMROD,) who was powerful and unjust, he went with his chosen troops into that country, and, without a declaration of war, began to administer justice among the people, and to give them a specimen of a good king: he even treated with disdain an expostulatory message from NIRMARYA'DA, who marched against him with a formidable army, but was killed in a battle, which lasted twelve days, and in which TAMO'VATSA fought like a second PARASU-RA'MA. The conqueror placed himself on the throne of *Misra*, and governed the kingdom with perfect equity. His son BA'HYAVATSA devoted himself to religion, and dwelt in a forest; having resigned his dominion to his son RUCMAVATSA, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved his country, that from his just revenues he amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so great, that he raised *three mountains*, called *Rucmádri*, *Rajatádri*, and *Retnádri*, or the mountain of *gold*, of *silver*, and of *gems*: the author says *mountains*; but it appears from the context, that they were *fabricks*, like mountains, and probably in a pyramidal form.

TAMO'VATSA seems to be the TIMAUS of MANETHO, who says, according Mr. BRYANT's translation, that
 “they once had a king called TIMAUS, in whose
 “reign there came on a sudden into their country a
 “large body of obscure people, who with great bold-
 “ness invaded the land, took it without opposition,
 “and behaved very barbarously, slaying the men, and
 “enslaving their wives and children.” The *Hindus*, indeed, say, that the invaders were headed by TAMO'VATSA, who behaved with justice to the natives,
 but

but almost wholly destroyed the king's army, as the son of JAMADAGNI nearly extirpated the *military* class; but the fragments of MANERHO, although they contain curious matter, are not free from the suspicion of errors and transpositions. The seat of TAMO'VATSA, called *Tamóvatśa-ś'hán*, seems to be the town of *Thmuis*, now *Tmaiè*, in the district of *Thmuities*: in later times it appears to have communicated its name to the *Phatmetick* branch, and thence to *Tamiathis*, the present *Damiata*. We before ascertained the situation of *Crishna-giri*; and, as to the three stupendous edifices, called *mountains* from their size and form, there can be little or no doubt, that they were the three great Pyramids near *Misra-ś'hán*, or *Memphis*; which, according to the *Purānas* and to PLINY, were built from a motive of ostentation, but, according to ARISTOTLE, were *monuments of tyranny*. RUCMAVATSA was no tyrant to his own people, whom *he cherished*, says the *Mahācalpa*, as if they had been *his own children*: but he might have compelled the native *Egyptians* to work, for the sake of keeping them employed, and subduing their spirit. It is no wonder that authors differ as to the founders of those vast buildings; for the people of *Egypt*, says HERODOTUS, held their memory in such detestation, that they would not even pronounce their names; they told him, however, that they were built by a herdsman, whom he calls PHILITIUS, and who was a leader of the *Pālis* or *Bhils*, mentioned in our first Section. The Pyramids might have been called mountains of *gold*, *silver*, and *precious stones*, in the hyperbolical style of the East; but I rather suppose, that the first was said to be of *gold*, because it was coated with yellow marble; the second of *silver*, because it had a coating of white marble; and the third of *jewels*, because it excelled the others in magnificence, being coated with a beautiful spotted marble of a fine grain, and susceptible of an exquisite polish (a). The *Brāh-*
mens

(a) Savary, Vol. I. p. 246.

mens never understood that any pyramid in *Misra-st'hala*, or *Egypt*, was intended as a repository for the dead; and no such idea is conveyed by the *Mahácalpa*, where several other pyramids are expressly mentioned as places of worship. There are pyramids now at *Benáres*, but on a small scale, with subterranean passages under them, which are said to extend many miles: when the doors, which close them, are opened, we perceive only dark holes, which do not seem of great extent; and pilgrims no longer resort to them through fear of mephitic air, or of noxious reptiles. The narrow passage, leading to the great pyramid in *Egypt*, was designed to render the holy apartment less accessible, and to inspire the votaries with more awe: the caves of the oracle at *Delphi*, of *Trophonius*, and of *New-Grange*, in *Ireland*, had narrow passages answering the purpose of those in *Egypt* and *India*; nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that the fabulous relations concerning the grot of the *Sibyl in Italy*, and the purgatory of *St. Patrick*, were derived from a similar practice and motive, which seem to have prevailed over the whole Pagan world, and are often alluded to in Scripture. *M. Maillet* has endeavoured to show, in a most elaborate work, that the founder of the great pyramid lay entombed in it, and that its entrance was afterwards closed; but it appears, that the builder of it was not buried there; and it was certainly opened in the times of *Herodotus* and *Pliny*. On my describing the great *Egyptian* pyramid to several very learned *Bráhmens*, they declared it at once to have been a temple; and one of them asked, if it had not a communication under ground with the river *Cáli*: when I answered, that such a passage was mentioned as having existed, and that a well was at this day to be seen, they unanimously agreed, that it was a place appropriated to the worship of *Padma'de'vi*, and that the supposed tomb was a trough, which, on certain festivals, her priests used to fill with the sacred water and

and lotos flowers. What PLINY says of the Labyrinth is applicable also to the Pyramid: some insisted, that it was the palace of a certain king; some, that it had been the tomb of MÆRIS; and others, that it was built for the purpose of holy rites: a diversity of opinion among the *Greeks*, which shows how little we can rely on them; and, in truth, their pride made them in general very careless and superficial inquirers into the antiquities and literature of other nations.

IV. A singular story, told in the *Uttara-charitra*, seems connected with the people, whom, from their principal city, we call *Romans*. It is related, that a sage, named A'LAVA'LA, resided on the verge of *Himádri*, and spent his time in cultivating orchards and gardens; his name or title implying a *small canal* or *trench*, usually dug round trees, for the purpose of watering them. He had an only son, whose name, in the patronymick form, was A'LAVA'LI: the young *Bráhmén* was beautiful as CA'MADE'VA, but of an amorous and roving disposition; and having left the house of his father, in company with some youths like himself, he travelled as far as the city of *Rómacà*, which is described as agreeably situated, and almost impregnable strong. The country, in which it stood, was inhabited by *Mléch'has*, or men who speak a barbarous dialect; and their king had a lovely daughter, who happening to meet A'LAVA'LI, found means to discourse with him: the young pair were soon mutually enamoured, and they had frequent interviews in a secret grove or garden; till the princess became pregnant, and, her damsels having betrayed her to the king, he gave orders for the immediate execution of A'LAVA'LI; but she had sufficient power to effect his escape from the kingdom. He returned home; but his comrades having long deserted him, and informed his father of his intercourse with the daughter of a *Mléch'ha*, the irritated sage refused to admit him into his mansion; he wandered, therefore, from country to country, till he arrived

rived in *Barbara*, where he suffered extreme pain from the burning sands; and having reached the banks of the *Crīṣhnā*, he performed a rigorous penance for many years, during which he barely supported life with water and dry leaves. At length MAHA'DE'VA appeared to him, assured him that his offence was forgiven, and gave him leave, on his humble request, to fix his abode on the banks of the holy river *Cālì*, restoring him to his lost sacerdotal class, and promising an increase of virtue and divine irradiation. From the character in which the God revealed himself, he was afterwards named AGHA-HE'SA, or *Lord of him who forsakes sin*; and the station of A'LAVA'LI was called *Aghahésa-st'hán*, or *Aghahésam*.

Now we find the outline of a similar tale in the ancient *Roman* history; and one would think that the *Hindu* writers wished to supply what was deficient in it. The old deities of *Rome* were chiefly rural, such as the *Fauns*, the *Sylvans*, and others who presided over *orchards* and *gardens*, like the sage A'LAVA'LA: the *Sanscrit* word *ála*, which is lengthened to *álavála*, when the trench is carried quite round the tree, seems to be the root of *άλωά*, a vineyard or an orchard, *άλων* in the same sense, *ἄλλα*, gardens, and *ἄλωεύς*, a gardener or husbandman. We read of VERTUMNA with child by APOLLO, the daughter of FAUNUS by HERCULES, and those of NUMITOR and TARCHETIUS, by some unknown Gods, or at least in a supernatural manner; which may be the same story differently told: the king of the *Mléch'has* would, no doubt, have saved the honour of his family, by pretending that his daughter had received the caresses of a rural divinity.

The origin of *Rome* is very uncertain; but it appears to have been at first a place of worship raised by the *Pelasgi* under the command of a leader, who, like many others, was named HERCULES: by erect-
ing

ing other edifices round it, they made it the capital of their new western settlements; and it became so strong a city, that the *Greeks* called it *Rhomè*, or *power itself*; but *Rómacà*, which all the *Hindus* place very far in the west, was thus denominated, according to them, from *Róma*, or wool, because its inhabitants wore mantles of *woollen cloth*; as the *Greeks* gave the epithet of *λινοχλαίνης*, from linen vesture, to the people of *Egypt*, and to those eastern nations with whom they were acquainted. *PLINY* says, that the primitive name of *Rome* was studiously concealed by the *Romans* (a); but *AUGUSTINE* informs us, that it was *Febris*: probably that word should be written *Phoberis*. About two generations before the *Trojan* war, the *Pelásgí* began to lose their influence in the west, and *Rome* gradually dwindled into a place of little or no consequence; but the old temple remained in it: according to the rules of grammatical derivation, it is more probable, that *ROMULUS* was thus named, because he was found, when an infant, near the site of old *Rome*, than that new *Rome*, which he rebuilt and restored to power, should have been so called from *ROMULUS*. A certain *ROMANUS*, believed to be a son of *ULYSSES*, is by some supposed to have built *Rome*, with as little reason as *ROMULUS*; if, indeed, they were not the same personage. *ROMANUS*, perhaps, was the king *LATINUS*, whom *HESIOD* mentions as *very powerful*; but whether he was the foreign prince whose daughter inspired *A'LAVA'LI* with love, I cannot pretend to decide; however, these inquiries relate to the *dwíṣ* of *Varáha*; and the scope of our work leads us back to that of *CUSHA*.

It is reasonable to believe, that *Aghahéſam* was the celebrated and ancient city of *Axum* in the vicinity of the little *Crishná*, or the *Astaboras* of our old geographers, now called *Tacazzè*; which, according to

Mr.

(a) L. 3. C. 5.

Mr. BRUCE, is the largest river in *Abyssinia* next to the *Abay* or *Nile* (*a*). It is also held *sacred*, and the natives call it *Tenush Abay*, or *Little Nile*; a very ancient appellation; for STRABO gives the name of *Tenesis* to the country bordering on that river (*b*). Hence, perhaps, the ancients mistook this river for the *Nile*, to which they erroneously applied the name *Siris*; for the true *Siris* appears to be the *Little Crishná*. The *Agows*, who live towards the heads of the *Nile* and the *Tacazzè*, may have derived their name from *Aghaha*; and we find the race of A'LAVA'LI settled as well in the isles of the Red Sea near the *Abyssinian* coast, as in the country adjacent to *Aghahésam*: those isles were called *Alieu* and *Alaleæ*; and, in the districts about the *Tacazzè*, were the *Elei* or *Eleii*, surnamed *Rhizophagi*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Astapus* and the *Astaboras*; in which denominations of islands and tribes we may trace the radical word *A'la* or *A'lavála*.

The smaller *Crishná* was so denominated, either because its waters were *black*, or because it had its origin from an achievement of CRISHNA; and its name *Ast'himatî*, was given on an occasion which has been already mentioned, but which may here be related at large from the *Bráhmánda*. When CRISHNA visited *Sanc'ha-dwîp*, and had destroyed the demon who infested that delightful country, he passed along the bank of a river, and was charmed with a delicious odour, which its waters diffused in their course: he was eager to view the source of so fragrant a stream, but was informed by the natives, that it flowed from the temples of an elephant, immensely large, milk-white, and beautifully formed; that he governed a numerous race of elephants, and that the odoriferous fluid, which exuded from his temples in the season of love, had formed the river, which, from his name, was called *Sanc'hanágà*; that

(a) Vol. 3. p. 157, 612.

(b) B. 16. p. 770.

that the *Dévas*, or inferior gods, and the *Apsarases*, or nymphs, bathed and sported in its waters, impassioned and intoxicated with the liquid perfume. The *Hindu* poets frequently allude to the fragrant juice which oozes at certain seasons from small ducts in the temples of the male elephant, and is useful in relieving him from the redundant moisture with which he is then oppressed; and they even describe the bees as allured by the scent, and mistaking it for that of the sweetest flowers; but, though ARRIAN mentions this curious fact, no modern naturalist, I believe, has taken notice of it. CRISHNA was more desirous than before of seeing so wonderful a phenomenon, and formed a design of possessing the elephant himself; but SANC'HANA'GA led against him a vast army of elephants, and attacked him with such fury, that the incarnate God spent seven days in subduing the assailants, and seven more in attempting to seize their leader, whom at last he was obliged to kill with a stroke of his *Chakra*. The head of the huge beast had no sooner fallen on the ground, where it lay like a mountain, than a beautiful *Yacsha*, or Genius, sprang from the body, who prostrated himself before CRISHNA, informing him, that he was VIJAYA-VERDHANA, who had once offended MAHA'DÉVA, and been condemned by him to pass through a mortal form; that he was supremely blessed in owing his deliverance to so mighty a God, and would instantly, with his permission, return to his appeased master. The victor assented, and left the field of battle; where, from the bones of the slain elephants, rose a lake, thence named *Ast'hi-tarága*, from which flowed the river *Ast'himatì*, whose hallowed waters, adds the author of the *Purána*, remove sin and worldly affections: *ast'hi*, a bone, pronounced *ost'hi* in some provinces, is clearly the Greek *ὀστέον*, and its derivative *ast'himat* becomes *ast'himán* in the first case, masculine; whence the river is by some old geographers called *Aistamenos*; for the names of rivers, which are feminine for the most part in *Sanscrit*, are generally masculine

masculine in the western languages. We find it named also *Astaboras* and *Astabaras*; for *Ast'hivara* means the *most excellent bone*, or ivory: and the *Adiabaræ*, who lived, says PLINY, on its banks, took their name, perhaps, from the river, the word *ast'hi* being pronounced *âti* and *âdi* in some vulgar dialects: as the Sanscrit word *hasti*, an elephant, is corrupted into *hâti*. *Mareh*, or *Sanc'hânâgâ*, was anciently named *Astosabas*, or *Astusobas*, possibly from *Hastisrava*, or *flowing from an elephant*, in allusion to the legend before related; and one would have thought *Hastimatî*, or *Hastimân*, a more rational appellation for the *Tacazzè*, since there are in fact many elephants in the country which it waters. We must beware of confounding SANC'HANA'GA, or the *Elephant* of *Sanc'ha-dwîp*, with SANC'HA-NA'GA, or the *Shell-serpent*, of whom we have already given a sufficient account, and concerning whom we have nothing to add, except that the people of the mountains, now called *Hubâb*, have legendary traditions of a Snake, who formerly reigned over them, and conquered the kingdom of *Sirè*.

V. Concerning the river *Nandâ*, or the *Nile* of *Abyssinia*, we meet with the following tales in the *Padmacôsha*, or *Treasure of Lotos-flowers*. A king, named APYA'YANA, finding himself declining very low in the vale of years, resigned his throne to APA'MVATSA, his son, and repaired with his wife S'ARMADA' to the hermitage of a renowned and holy *Brâhmen*, whose name was MRICA, or MRICU, intending to consult him on the mode of entering into the third *Aframa*, or order, called *vânaprest'ha*. They found only the son of the sage, named *Mârca*, or *Mârcava*, who gave them full instructions, and accompanied them to the hilly parts of the country, where he advised them to reside. When they arrived at their destined retreat, the *Dévas*, pleased with their piety, scattered *flowers* on them like rain, whence the mountains were called *Pushpavarsha*, according to the derivation

vation of the Mythologists ; but *Pushpavarsha*, which is the name of the country round them, may signify no more than the region of flowers : the Gods were not satisfied with a shower of blossoms, and when the first ceremonies were performed at *Pushpa-versa-st'hán*, they rained also tears of joy, which being mingled with those of the royal pair and the pious hermit, formed the river *Nandá*, whose waters hastened to join the *Cáli*, and their united streams fell at length into the *Sanc'hábdhi*, or sea of *Sanc'ha*. The goddess, who presided over the *Nandá*, passed near the mansion of a sage named SA'NTAPANA, a child of SANTAPANA, or the Sun, who ran with delight to meet her, and conducted her near his hermitage, where *Dévatás* and *Rishis* were assembled to pay her divine honours : they attended her to the place of her confluence with the great *Crishna*, near which was afterwards built *Sántapana-st'hán*, and there the sage fixed a *linga*, or emblem of SA'NTAPANA'-SIVA, to which prostrations must be made, after prescribed ablution in the hallowed waters, by all such as desire a seat in the mansions of *Swerga*.

The mountains and country of *Pushpavarsha* seem to be those round the lake *Dembea*, which immediately after the rains, says Mr. BRUCE, look, from the blossoms of the *Wanzey*, as if they were covered with white linen or new-fallen snow. DIODORUS calls them *Psewaras* in the oblique case ; and STRABO, *Psebæos* ; the lake itself being also named *Pseboa*, or *Psebo*, from the Sanscrit word *pushpa*. By one of the old Hindu writers the river *Nandá* is placed between *Barbara* and *Cusha-dwíp* ; by another, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp* itself ; but this is easily reconciled, for, according to the more ancient division of the earth, the exterior *dwíp* of CUSHA was considered as a part of *Sanc'ha-dwíp* ; though, in the new division, it is just the reverse : all agree, that the *Nandá* runs, in great part of its course, from south to north ; and hence many *Bráhmens* draw a conclusion,

which by no means follows, that the *Cáli*, which it joins, must flow from west to east. *Sántapana-st'hán*, I conceive to have stood at the *prayága* or *trévénì*, that is, at the confluence of the smaller *Crishná* with the united waters of the *Nandá* and the *Cáli*; and I suppose it to have been the *APOLLINIS oppidum* of *PLINY* (a), or the capital of the *Adiabaræ*, called also *Megabari*, whom I have already mentioned: for *SA'NTAPANA* was an *avatár*, or incarnate form, of the Sun, and the country around his *aframa*, or hermitage, is known to this day by the name of *Kuara*, which means the Sun, according to *Mr. BRUCE*, and which is no other than the *Sanscrit* word *Cwára*, or going round the earth; the *Nandá*, I presume, or *Nile* of *Abyssinia*, was also named the river of *SA'NTAPANA*, whence the *Greeks* first made *Astapún* in the oblique case, and thence, as usual, formed the nominative *Astapus*. According to the *Puránas*, the *Nandá* and Little *Crishna* unite before they fall into the *Cáli*; and *PTOLEMY* also supposes that they join near the southern border of *Meroe*, and then are divided, one branch flowing eastward, and another westward, into the main body of the *Nile*. That inquisitive geographer acknowledges himself indebted for much useful information to many learned *Indians* whom he knew at *Alexandria*, and those *Hindus* were probably acquainted with the *Puránas*; but *ERATOSTHENES* was better informed than *PTOLEMY* with respect to the rivers in question; and the mistake of the *Hindu* authors may have arisen from a fact, mentioned by *Mr. BRUCE*, that, during the rains, the floods divide themselves, part running westward into the *Nile*, part eastward into the *Tacazzè*. It should not be omitted, that the country of the sage *MRICU*, and his son *MA'RCAVA*, seems to be that of the *Macrobi*, now inhabited by the *Gonguas*, *Gubas*, and *Shangallas*; the *Greeks*, according to their custom, having changed *Marcaba*

(a) Lib. 6. Cap. 30.

Marcaba into *Macrobios*, or long-lived; though that country, says the *Abyssinian* traveller, is one of the most unhealthy on earth; indeed, if MA'RCANDE'YA, the son of MRICANDU, be the same person with MA'R-CAVA, he was truly *Macrobios*, one of the nine long-lived sages of the *Puráns*.

VI. The next legend is taken from the *Mahácalpa*; that we introduce here as illustrative of that which has been related in the second Section, concerning the two *Indian* Gods of Medicine, to whom some places in *Egypt* were consecrated.

A most pious and venerable Sage, named RISHI'CE-SA, being very far advanced in years, had resolved to visit, before he died, all the famed places of pilgrimage; and, having performed his resolution, he bathed at last in the sacred water of the *Cáli*, where he observed some fishes engaged in amorous play, and reflecting on their numerous progeny, which would sport like them in the stream, he lamented the improbability of his leaving any children: but, since he might possibly be a father, even at his great age, he went immediately to the king of that country, HIRANYAVERNA, who had fifty daughters, and demanded one of them in marriage. So strange a demand gave the prince great uneasiness; yet he was unwilling to incur the displeasure of a saint, whose imprecations he dreaded: he, therefore, invoked HERI, or VISHNU, to inspire him with a wise answer, and told the hoary philosopher, that he should marry any one of his daughters, who of her own accord should fix on him as her bridegroom. The sage, rather disconcerted, left the palace; but, calling to mind the two sons of ASWINI, he hastened to their terrestrial abode, and requested that they would bestow on him both youth and beauty: they immediately conducted him to *Abhimatada*, which we suppose to be *Abydos* in Upper *Egypt*; and, when he had bathed in
the

the pool of *Rúpayaavana*, he was restored to the flower of his age, with the graces and charms of GA'MADE'VA. On his return to the palace, he entered the secret apartments, called *antahpura*, where the fifty princesses were assembled; and they were all so transported with the vision of more than human beauty, that they fell into an *ecstasy*, whence the place was afterwards named *Móha-st'hán*, or *Móhana*, and is, possibly, the same with *Mohannan*: they no sooner had recovered from their trance, than each of them exclaimed, that she would be his bride; and their altercation having brought HIRANY-AVERNA into their apartment, he terminated the contest, by giving them all in marriage to RISHICE'SA, who became the father of a hundred sons; and, when he succeeded to the throne, built the city of *Suc'haverddhana*; framed *vimánas*, or celestial self-moving cars, in which he visited the Gods; and made gardens, abounding in delights, which rivalled the bowers of INDRA; but, having gratified the desire which he formed at *Mat-syangama*, or the place where the *fish* were *assembled*, he resigned the kingdom to his eldest son, HIRANYA-VRIDDHA; and returned in his former shape to the banks of the *Cáli*, where he closed his days in devotion.

VII. A very communicative *Pandit* having told me a short story, which belongs to the subject of this Section, it seems proper to mention it, though I do not know from what *Purán* it is taken. ARUNA'TRI, the fifth in descent from ATRI before named, was performing religious rites on the *Déváníca* mountains, near the site of the modern *Cábul*, when a hero, whose name was TULYA, desired his spiritual advice; informing him, that he had just completed the conquest of *Barbara*, subdued the *Syámamuc'has*, who lived to the east of the river *Cáli*, and overcome the *Sanc'háyanas*; but that so great an effusion of blood, for the sake of dominion and fame, had sustained his soul with a sinful impurity,

which he was desirous of expiating: the Sage accordingly prescribed a fit penance, which the conqueror performed in the interior *Cusha-dwîp*. A certain THOULES, or TAULES, is mentioned in *Egyptian* history as a son of ORUS the Shepherd.

VIII. In the first part of this Essay, we intimated an opinion, that *Ugra-st'hân* was a part of *Memphis*, and that UGRA, whom the *Hindus* make a king of *Dwâracâ*, in *Gujjara-dês*, or *Gujarât*, was the UCHOREUS, or OGDOUS, of the *Greeks*: nor is it impossible, that VEXORIS, who is represented as a great conqueror, was the same person with UCHOREUS. The story of UGRA, or UGRASE'NA, we find in a book entitled *Amarêswara-sangraha-tantra*; from which the following passage is verbally translated: "UGRASE'NA, chief of kings, was a
 " bright ornament of the *Yâdava* race; and having
 " taken CRÎSHNA for his associate, he became sove-
 " reign of all the *Dwîpas*: the *Devâs*, the *Yacshas*,
 " and the *Râcshasas*, paid him tribute again and again:
 " having entered *Cusha-dwîp*, and vanquished its princes,
 " elate with pride, the monarch raised an image of
 " ISWARA on the banks of the river *Câlî*, whence the
 " God was famed by the title of UGRÊSWARA, and the
 " place was called *Ugra-st'hâna*."

IX. The following legend from the *Uttara-c'handa*, is manifestly connected with the oldest history and mythology in the world. INDRA, king of *Mêru*, having slain a *Daitya* of the sacerdotal class, was obliged to retire from the world, in order to perform the penance ordained for the crime of *Brahmahatyâ*, or the murder of a *Brâhmen*: his dominions were soon in the greatest disorder, and the rebel *Daityas* oppressed the *Dêvas*, who applied for assistance to NAHUSHA, a prince of distinguished virtues, whom they unanimously elected king of their heavenly mansions, with the title of DE'-VANAHUSHA. His first object was to reduce the *Dai-*
tyas

tyas and the sovereigns of all the *dwíps*, who had shaken off their allegiance; for which purpose he raised an immense army, and marched through the interior *Cusha-dwíp*, or *Iran* and *Arabia*, through the exterior *dwíp* of *Cusha*, or *Ethiopia*, through *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, or *Egypt*, through *Varáha-dwíp*, or *Europe*, through *Chandra-dwíp*, and through the countries now called *Siberia* and *China*: when he invaded *Egypt*, he overthrew the combined forces of the *Cútíla-céfas* and *Syáma-muc'has* with so terrible a carnage, that the *Cáli* (a word which means also the *female devourer*) was reported to have swallowed up the natives of *Egypt*, whose bodies were thrown into her stream. During his travels he built many places of worship, and gave each of them the title of *Dévanáhuṣham*. The principal rivers of the countries through which he passed, were also distinguished by his name; *NAHUSHA* being an appellation of the *Nile*, of the *Chacshu* or *Oxus*, of the *Varáha* or *Ister*, and of several others. He returned through *India* to *Méru*, but unhappily fell in love with *SACHÌ*, or *PULÓMAJÁ'*, the consort of *INDRA*, who secretly resolved on perfect fidelity to her lord, and, by the advice of *VRIHASPATÍ*, regent of the planet *Jupiter*, and preceptor of the *Dévas*, promised *NAHUSHA* to favour his addresses, if he would visit her in a *dólà*, or palanquin, carried on the shoulders of the holiest *Bráhmens*: he had sufficient influence to procure a set of reverend bearers; but such was the slowness of their motion, and so great was his eagerness to see his beloved, that he said with impatience to the chief of them, *Serpe, Serpe*, which has precisely the same sense in *Sanscrit* and in *Latin*; and the sage, little used to such an imperative, answered, "Be thyself a serpent." Such was the power of divine learning, that the imprecation was no sooner pronounced, than the king fell on the earth in the shape of that large serpent which is called *Ajágara* in *Sanscrit*, and *Boa* by Naturalists: in that state of humiliation he found his way to the *Black Mountains*, and glided in search of prey along the banks

of the *Cáñ*; but, having once attempted to swallow a *Bráhmén* deeply learned in the *Védas*, he felt a scorching flame in his throat, and was obliged to disgorge the sage alive, by contact with whom his own intellects, which had been obscured by his fall, became irradiated; and he remembered with penitence his crime and its punishment. He ceased from that day to devour human creatures, and, having recovered his articulation together with his understanding, he wandered through the regions adjacent to the *Nile*, in search of some holy *Bráhmén*, who could predict the termination of his deserved misery: with this view he put many artful questions to all whom he met, and at length received information, that he would be restored to his pristine shape by the sons of *PANDU*. He had no resource, therefore, but patience, and again traversed the world, visiting all the temples and places of pilgrimage, which he had named from himself in his more fortunate expedition: at last he came to the snowy mountains of *Himálaya*, where he waited with resignation for the arrival of the *PAN'DAVAS*, whose adventures are the subject of *VYASA's* great Epick Poem.

This fable of *DE'VA-NAHUSHA*, who is always called *DEO-NAUSH* in the popular dialects, is clearly the same in part with that of *DIONYSIUS*, whether it allude to any single personage, or to a whole colony; and we see in it the origin of the *Grecian* fiction, that *DIONYSIUS* was sewed up in the *Méros*, or *thigh*, of *JUPITER*; for *Méru*, on which *DEVA-NAHUSHA* resided for a time, was the seat of *INDRA*, or *ZEUS Ombríos*: by the way, we must not confound the celestial *Méru* with a mountain of the same appellation near *Cábul*, which the natives, according to the late Mr. *FORSTER*, still call *Mer-coh*, and the *Hindus*, who consider it as a splinter of the heavenly mountain, and suppose that the Gods occasionally descend on it, have named *Méru-sringa*. Names are often so strangely corrupted, that we sus-
pect

pect DEO-NAUSH to be also the *Scythian* monarch, called TANAUS by JUSTIN (a), and TAUNASIS by JORNANDES, who conquered *Asia*, travelled into *Egypt*, and gave his name to the river otherwise called *Iaxartes*: we have already mentioned *Nous* as a *Greek* name of the *Nile*, and the *Danube* or *Isther* was known also by that of *Danufius* or *Tanais* (b); in which points the *Purânas* coincide with HORUS, APOLLO, EUSTATHIUS, and STRABO.

X. The author of the *Viśva-pracās* gives an account of an extraordinary personage, named DARDA'NA'SA, who was lineally descended from the great JAMADAGNI: his father ABHAYA'NA'S lived on the banks of the river *Vitaṣṭā*, where he constantly performed acts of devotion, explained the *Vēdas* to a multitude of pupils, and was chosen by CHITRARAT'HA, who, though a *Vaiśya*, reigned in that country, as his *guru*, or spiritual guide. Young DARDA'NA'SA had free access to the secret apartments of the palace, where the daughter of the king became enamoured of him, and eloped with him through fear of detection, carrying away all the jewels and other wealth that she could collect: the lovers travelled from hill to hill, and from forest to forest, until they reached the banks of the *Cālī*, where their property secured them a happy retreat. PRAMÓDA, a virtuous and learned *Brāhmen* of that country, had a beautiful daughter, named PRAMADA', whom DARDA'NA'SA, with the assent of the princess, took by the hand, that is, married, according to the rites prescribed in the *Vēda*; and his amiable qualities gained him so many adherents, that he was at length chosen sovereign of the whole region, which he governed with mildness and wisdom. His ancestry and posterity are thus arranged:

JAMADAGNI,

(a) Lib. 1. Cap. 1. and Lib. 2. Cap. 36,
(b) *Eustath.* on *Dionys.* *Perieg.* v. 298.

JAMADAGNI,

Jámadagni,
Práchínás,
Támránás,
Náshtránás,
Bhúnjánás,
Craunchánás,
Abhayajátánás,

Abhayánás,
DARDA'NA'S,
Vainabhrítánás,
Técánás,
Bháhánás,
Traicáyanyás,
Avadátánás.

The river here named *Vitastà*, and vulgarly *Jelam*, is the *Hydaspes* of the *Greeks*: a nation who lived on its banks, are called *Dardaneis*, by *DIONYSIUS* (*a*); and the *Grecian* *DARDANUS* was probably the same with *DARDA'NA'SA*, who travelled into *Egypt* with many associates. We find a race of *Trojans* in *Egypt*; a mountain, called anciently *Troicus*, and now *Tora*, fronted *Memphis*; and at the foot of it was a place actually named *Troja*, near the *Nile*, supposed to have been an old settlement of *Trojans*, who had fled from the forces of *MENELAUS*; but *CRESIAS*, who is rather blameable for credulity than for want of veracity, and most of whose fables are to be found in the *Puráns*, was of a different opinion; for he asserted, according to *DIODORUS* of *Sicily*, that *Troja*, in *Egypt*, was built by *Trojans*, who had come from *Assyria* under the famed *SEMIRAMIS* (*b*), named *ŠAMI'RAMA'* by the ancient *Hindu* writers; and this account is confirmed by *HERODOTUS*, who says, that a race of *DARDANIANS* were settled on the banks of the river *Gyndes*, near the *Tigris*, (*c*), where, I imagine, *DARDA'NA'SA*, and his associates, first established themselves, after their departure from *India* (*d*).

EUSTATHIUS,

(*a*) *Perieg.* v. 11. 38.(*b*) *B.* 2.(*c*) *B.* 1. *C.* 189.(*d*) *Iliad*, Y. v. 215.

EUSTATHIUS, in his comment on the *Periegesis*, distinguishes the *Dardaneis* from the *Dardanoi*, making the first an *Indian*, and the second a *Trojan*, race (a;) but it seems probable, that both races had a common origin: when HOMER gives the *Trojans* the title of *Mero-pians*, he alludes to their eastern origin from the borders of *Méru*; the very name of king MEROPS being no other than ME'RUPA, or sovereign of that mountainous region.

XI. We come now to a person of a different character; not a prince or a hero, but a bard, whose life is thus described in the *Viśvasāra*. On the banks of the *Cālī* dwelt a *Bráhmen*, whose name was LE'C'HA'YANÁ'S; a sage rigorously devout, skilled in the learning of the *Védas*, and firmly attached to the worship of HERI; but, having no male issue, he was long disconsolate, and made certain oblations to the God, which proved acceptable; so that his wife SA'NCRĪTI became gregnant, after she had tasted part of the *charu*, or cake of rice, which had been offered: in due time she was delivered of a beautiful boy, whom the *Bráhmens*, convened at the *jâtacarma*, or ceremony on his birth, unanimously agreed to name HERIDATTA, or given by the divinity. When the *sanścāra*, or institution of a *Bráhmen*, was completed by his investiture with the sacerdotal string, and the term of his studentship in the *Véda* was past, his parents urged him to enter into the *second* order, or that of a married man; but he ran into the woods, and passed immediately into the *fourth* order, disclaiming all worldly connections, and wholly devoting himself to VISHNU: he continually practised the *samádhiyóga*, or union with the Deity by contemplation; fixing his mind so intensely on God, that his vital soul seemed concentrated in the *Brahma-randhra*, or pineal

(a) Οἱ Δαρδανεῖς, Ἰνδικὸν ἔθνος, οἱ μὲντοι Δάρδανοι, Τρωῖόν.
Eustath. on Dionys. v. 11. 38.

pineal gland, while his animal faculties were suspended, but his body still uncorrupted, till the reflux of the spirits put them again in motion; a state, in which the *Hindus* assert, that some *Yógis* have remained for years, and the fanciful gradations of which are minutely described in the *Yóga-sástra*, and even delineated, in the figures called *Shatchakra*, under the emblems of lotos-flowers with different numbers of petals, according to the supposed stations of the soul in her mystical ascent. From this habit of *merging* all his vital *spirits* in the idea of the Supreme Being, HERIDATTA was named LI'NA'SU; a name which the people repeated with enthusiasm; and he became the *guru*, or spiritual director, of the whole nation: he then rambled over the earth, singing and dancing, like a man in a phrensy; but he sang no hymns, except those which himself had composed; and hence it came, that all older hymns were neglected, while those of LINA'SU alone were committed to memory from his lips, and acquired universal celebrity. Other particulars of his life are mentioned in the *Puránas*, where fragments of his poetry are, most probably, cited: I have no doubt, that he was the same person with the LINUS of the *Greeks*; and, if his hymns can be recovered, they will be curious at least, if not instructive. LINA'SU was the eighth in descent from the sage BHARADWA'JA, whom some call the son of VRIHASPATI, or the regent of *Jupiter*: he is said to have married at an advanced age, by the special command of HERI, and five of his descendants are named in the following pedigree:

BHARADWA'JA,
Cárisháyanás,
Cshámyáyanás,

Lec'háyanás,
LI'NA'SU, or Línáyanás,
Cayndáyanás, 10.

Gauriváyanás,

Gaurivāyanās,
Cārunāyanās, 5.
Bhrityāyanās,
Sic'hāyanās,

Māshāyanās,
Cāmacāyanās,
Sānc'halāyanās,
Cāsucāyanās.

XII. The tale of LUBDHACA relates both to the morals and astronomy of the *Hindus*, and is constantly recited by the *Brāhmens* on the *night* of SIVA, which falls on the *fourteenth* of *Māgha*, or of *P'hālgun*, according as the month begins from the opposition or from the conjunction.

LUBDHACA was descended from the race of *Palli*, and governed all the tribes of *Cirātas*: he was violent and cruel, addicted passionately to the pleasures of the chase, killing innocent beasts without pity, and eating their flesh without remorse. On the *fourteenth* lunar day of the dark half of *P'hālgun*, he had found no game in the forest; and at sun-set, faint with hunger, he roved along the banks of the *Crīshná*, still earnestly looking for some animal whom he might shoot: at the beginning of night he ascended a *Bilva*-tree, which is consecrated to MAHA'DE'VA, whose emblem had been fixed under it near a spring of water; and, with a hope of discerning some beast through the branches, he tore off the leaves, which dropped on the *linga*, sprinkling it with dew; so that he performed sacred rites to the God, without intending any act of religion. In the first watch of the night a large male antelope came to the spring; and LUBDHACA, hearing the sound which he made in drinking, fixed his arrow, and took aim at the place whence the noise proceeded; when the animal, being endued by SIVA with speech and intellect, told him, that he had made an assignation with a beloved female, and requested him to wait with patience till the next day, on which he promised to return: the mighty hunter was softened, and, though nearly famished,

famished, permitted the antelope to depart, having first exacted an oath, that he would perform his engagement. A female antelope, one of his consorts, came in the second watch to drink at the spring; who was in like manner allowed to escape, on her solemn promise, that she would return, when she had committed her helpless young to the care of a sister; and thus, in the third and fourth watches, two other females were released for a time on pretences nearly similar, and on similar promises. So many acts of tender benevolence in so trying a situation, and the rites to MAHA'DE'VA, which accompanied them from watch to watch, though with a different intention, were pleasing to the God, who enlightened the mind of LUBDHACA, and raised in him serious thoughts on the cruelty of slaying the innocent for the gratification of his appetite: at early dawn he returned to his mansion, and, having told his family the adventure of the night, asked whether, if he should kill the antelopes, they would participate his guilt, but they disclaimed any share in it, and insisted, that, although it was his duty to provide them with sustenance, the punishment of sin must fall on him solely. The faithful and amiable beast at that moment approached him, with his three consorts and all his little ones, desiring to be the first victim; but LUBDHACA exclaimed, that he would never hurt his friend and his guide to the path of happiness, applauded them for their strict observance of their promises, and bade them return to the woods, into which he intimated a design of following them as a hermit: his words were no sooner uttered, than a celestial car descended with a messenger from SIVA, by whose order the royal convert and the whole family of antelopes were soon wafted, with radiant and incorruptable bodies, to the starry regions, fanned by heavenly nymphs, as they rose, and shaded by genii, who held umbrellas, while a chorus of ethereal songsters chanted the praises of tenderness to living creatures, and a rigorous adherence to truth. LUBDHACA

was appointed regent of *Sirius*, which is called the *yóga* star; his body is chiefly in our Greater Dog, and his *arrow* seems to extend from β in that asterism to α in the knee of ORION, the *three* stars in whose neck are the lunar mansion *Mrigasiras*, or the *head* of the male *antelope*, who is represented looking round at the archer; the *three* stars in the belt are the females, and those in the sword, their young progeny; MAHA'DE'VA, that he might be near his favourites, placed himself, it is said, in the next lunar mansion *A'rdrà*, his head being the bright star in the shoulder of ORION, and his body including those in the arm with several smaller stars in the galaxy. The son of LUBDHACA succeeded him on earth, and his lineal descendants yet reign, says the author of the *Purán*, on the delightful banks of the *Crīshná*.

This legend proves a very material fact, that the *Pallis* and *Cirátas* were originally the same people; it seems to indicate a reformation in some of the religious tenets and habits of the nations bordering on the *Crīshná*; and the whole appears connected with the famous *Egyptian* period regulated by the heliacal rising of *Sirius*: the river here mentioned I suppose to be the smaller *Crīshná*, or the *Siris* of the ancients, so named, as well as the province of *Siré*, from the word *Seir*, which means a *dog*, says Mr. BRUCE, in the language of that country. The constellations of ORION and the two Dogs point at a similar story differently told; but the name of LUBDHACA seems changed by the *Greeks* into LABDACUS: for since, like the ancient *Indians*, they applied to their new settlements the history and fables of their primitive country, they represent LABDACUS as the grandson of CADMUS, the son of POLYDORUS, (for so they were pleased to disguise the name,) and the father of LAIUS: now CADMUS, as we have shown, was CARDAME'SWARA, or MAHA'DE'VA, and POLYDORUS,

LYDORUS, OR POLYDOTUS, WAS PALLIDATTA, the *gift* of the national god *Palli* or *Nairrit*. As to LABDACUS, he died in the flower of his age, or disappeared, say the *Hindus*, and was translated into heaven; but, during his minority, the reigns of government were held by LYCUS, a son of NYCTEUS, OR NACTUN-CHARA: he was succeeded by LAIUS, which, like *Páli*, means a *herdsman* or *shepherd*; for *λαία*, *λεία*, and *λείη*, signify herds and flocks; and thus we find a certain LAIUS, who had a son BUCOLION, and a grandson PHIALUS, both which names have a reference to *pasture*, for the Shepherds were called by the *Greeks* *Ἀγελαῖοι*, and AGELAIA was synonymous with PALLAS. The son of LAIUS was ŒDIPUS, with whose dreadful misfortune, as we intimated in the first section, the *Hindus* are not unacquainted, though they mention his undesigned incest in a different manner, and say, that YÓGABRASHTA, whom they describe as a flagitious woman, entered into the service of some cowherds, after the miserable death of her son MAHA'SU'RA, or the *Great Hero*, by LINA'SU, the son of LUBDHACA, who was descended from PALLI: the whole story seems to have been *Egyptian*, though transferred by the *Greeks* to *Thebes* in their own country.

XIII. The last piece of history, mixed with an astrological fable, which I think it useful to add, because it relates to *Barbara*, is the legend of DA'SARAT'HA, or the monarch, *whose car had borne him to ten regions*, or to the *eight* points, the zenith, and the nadir: it is told both in the *Bhawishya Purán* and the *Bráhmánda*. He was descended from SU'RYA, OR HE'LI, which is a name of the Sun in *Greek* and in *Sanfcrít*: one of his ancestors, the great RAGHU, had conquered the seven *dwípas*, or the whole earth, and VISHNU became incarnate in the person of his son RA'MACHANDRA. It happened in the reign of DASARAT'HA, that SANI, having just left the lunar mansion *Crítticà*, or the Pleiads,

was entering the Hyads, which the *Hindus* call *Róhinì*, and that passage of SATURN is distinguished by the appellation of *Sacata-bhéda*, or the *section of the wain*: an universal drought having reduced the country to the deepest distress, and a total depopulation of it being apprehended, the king summoned all his astrologers and philosophers, who ascribed it solely to the unfortunate passage of the malignant planet; and VASISHT'HA added, that, unless the monarch himself would attack SANI, as he strongly advised, neither INDRA nor BRA'HMA himself could prevent the continuance of the drought for twelve years. DASARAT'HA that instant ascended his miraculous car of pure gold, and placed himself at the entrance of *Róhinì*, blazing like his progenitor the Sun, and drawing his bow, armed with the tremendous arrow *Sanhárastra*, which attracts all things with irresistible violence: SANI, the *slow-moving child of SU'RYA*, dressed in a blue robe, crowned with a diadem, having four arms, holding a bow, a spiked weapon, and a cimeter, (thus he is described in one verse) discerned his formidable opponent from the last degree of *Críticà*, and rapidly descended into the land of *Barbara*, which burst into a flame; while he concealed himself far under ground. The hero followed him; and his legions, marching to his assistance, perished in the burning sands; but SANI was attracted by the magnetick force of the *Sanhárastra*, and, after a vehement conflict, was overpowered by DASARAT'HA, who compelled him to promise, that he never more would attempt to pass through the wain of *Róhinì*: the victor then returned to his palace, and the regent of the planet went to SANI-st'hán in *Barbara*, while the ground, on which he had fought, assumed a red hue. The *Hindu* astrologers say, that SANI has hitherto performed his promise, but that, in four or five years, he will approach so nearly to *Róhinì* that great mischief may be feared from so noxious a planet, who has nothing in this age to apprehend from a hero in a self-moving car with an irresistible weapon: they

they add, that MANGALA, or *Mars*, the child of PRIT'HIVÌ, has also been prevented from traversing the waggon of Róhinì, but that VRIHASPATI, SUCRA, and BUDHA, or *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and *Mercury*, pass it freely and innocently, while it is the constant path of SÓMA, or the Moon, of whom the beautiful Róhinì, or *Aldeberhán*, is the favourite consort.

The history of DASARAT'H being immediately connected with that of RA'MACHANDRA, and consequently of the first colonies who settled in *India*, it may properly conclude this third section, which has been confined to the demigods and sages, who distinguished themselves in the countries bordering on the *Nile* of *Ethiopia*; and, whatever may be thought of some etymological conjectures, which I have generally confirmed by facts and circumstances, it has been proved, I trust, by positive evidence, that the ancient *Indians* were acquainted with those countries, with the course of that celebrated river, and with *Misra*, or *Egypt*.

REMARKS

ON THE PRECEDING ESSAY,

BY THE PRESIDENT.

SINCE I am persuaded, gentlemen, that the learned Essay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, which you have just attentively heard, has afforded you equal delight with that which I have myself received from it, I cannot refrain from endeavouring to increase your satisfaction, by confessing openly, that I have at length abandoned the greatest part of that natural distrust, and incredulity, which had taken possession of my mind, before I had examined the sources from which our excellent associate, Lieutenant WILFORD, has drawn so great a variety of new and interesting opinions. Having lately read, again and again, both alone, and with a *Pandit*, the numerous original passages in the *Puránas*, and other *Sanscrit* books, which the writer of the dissertation adduces in support of his assertions, I am happy in bearing testimony to his perfect good faith, and general accuracy, both in his extracts, and in the translations of them; nor should I decline the trouble of annexing literal versions of them all, if our Third Volume were not already filled with a sufficient store of curious and (my own part being excepted) of valuable papers: there are two, however, of Mr. WILFORD's extracts from the *Puránas*, which deserve a verbal translation; and I, therefore, exhibit them word for word, with a full conviction of their genuineness and antiquity.

The first of them is a little poem, in the form of the hymns ascribed to ORPHEUS, in praise of the *Nilá*, which all the *Bráhmens* allow to be a sacred river in *Cussha-dwíp*, and which we may confidently pronounce

to be the *Nile* : it is taken from the *Scanda-purán*, and supposed to be the composition of *Viśva'mitra*, the father of *Sacotala'*, with whose life you are well acquainted :

1. “ *Cáli*, *Crīṣhná*, likewise *Níla'*; ‘*Syamá*, *Cálá*,
“ and *Aśitá* also : *Anja-nábha* and ‘*Syámalá* : *Mécha-*
“ *cà* too, and *Pávanì* ;

2. “ *Aghahá* and *Mócshadá*.—These twelve prospe-
“ rous names of the *Cálicà*, in whatever receptacle of
“ water

3. “ A man shall repeat at the time of bathing, he
“ shall gain the fruit of an ablution in the *Cáli*. No
“ stream on earth is equal to the river *Cáli*, as a giver
“ of increase to virtue.

4. “ He, who has bathed in her *stream*, is wholly
“ released from the murder of a *Bráhmen*, and every
“ other crime : they, who have been offenders in
“ the highest degree, *are purified by her*, and con-
“ sequently who have committed rather inferior
“ sins.

5. “ They, who have arrived on the bank of the
“ river *Cáli*, are indubitably released from sin ; and
“ even by a sight of the river *Cáli*, an assemblage of
“ crimes is quite effaced :

6. “ But to declare the fruit gained by bathing in her
“ waters, is impossible even for *BRÁHMA*. These de-
“ lightful and exquisite names whatever men

7. “ Shall repeat, even they are *considered as duly*
“ bathed in the river *Cáli* : constantly, therefore, must
“ they be repeated with all *possible* attention.”

Here

Here I must observe, that the couplets of the *Véda*, which our learned friend has quoted at the beginning of his Essay, are in a similar strain to those of VISVA-MITRA; nor have a doubt of their authenticity, because the fifth line is clearly in a very ancient dialect, and the original ends in the manner of the *Hindu* Scripture, with a repetition of the two last words; but either we must reject a redundant syllable in the concluding verse, (though such a redundance often occurs in the *Véda*,) or we must give a different version of it. The line is

Sitáfitasamáyógát param yáti nanivertatè,

which may thus be rendered: “By whose union of
“white and dark azure waters, a mortal, who bathes
“in them, attains the Most High, from whose presence
“he returns not to this terrestrial mansion.”

Of the second passage, from the *Padma-purán*, the following translation is minutely exact:

1. “To SATYAVARMAN, that sovereign of the
“whole earth, were born three sons; the eldest, SHER-
“MA; then, C’HARMA; and, thirdly, JYA’PETI by
“name:

2. “They were all men of good morals, excellent
“in virtue and virtuous deeds, skilled in the use of
“weapons to strike with or to be thrown; brave men,
“eager for victory in battle.

3. “But SATYAVARMAN, being continually de-
“lighted with devout meditation, and seeing his sons
“fit for dominion, laid upon them the burden of go-
“vernment,

4. “ *Whilst* He remained honoring and satisfying the
 “ Gods, and priests, and kine. One day by the act of
 “ destiny, the king, having drunk mead,

5. “ Became senseless, *and* lay asleep naked : then
 “ was he seen by C’HARMA, and by him were his two
 “ brothers called,

6. “ *To whom he said* : What now has befallen ?
 “ In what state is this our sire ? By those two was
 “ he hidden with clothes, and called to his senses again
 “ and again.

7. “ Having recovered his intellect, and perfectly
 “ knowing what had passed, he cursed C’HARMA, *saying* :
 “ Thou shalt be the servant of servants ;

8. “ *And*, since thou wast a laughter in their presence,
 “ from laughter shalt thou acquire a name. Then he
 “ gave to SHERMA the wide domain on the south of the
 “ snowy mountain,

9. “ And to JYA’PETI he gave all on the north of the
 “ snowy mountain ; but he, by the power of religious
 “ contemplation, attained supreme bliss.”

Now you will probably think, that even the conciseness and simplicity of this narrative are excelled by the *Mosaick* relation of the same adventure ; but, whatever may be our opinion of the old *Indian* style, this extract most clearly proves, that the SATYAVRATA, or SATYAVARMAN, of the *Puráns* was the same personage (as it has been asserted in a former publication) with the NOAH of Scripture, and we consequently fix the utmost limit of *Hindu* Chronology ; nor can it be with reason inferred from the identity of the stories, that the divine legislator borrowed

borrowed any part of his work from the *Egyptians* : he was deeply versed, no doubt, in all their learning, such as it was ; but he wrote what he knew to be truth itself, independently of their tales, in which truth was blended with fables ; and their age was not so remote from the days of the Patriarch, but that every occurrence in his life might naturally have been preserved by traditions from father to son.

We may now be assured, that the old *Hindus* had a knowledge of *Misr* and of the *Nile* ; that the legends of CEPHEUS and CASSIOPEIA (to select one example out of many) were the same with those of CAPE'YA and CA'SYAPÌ ; that PERSEUS and ANDROMEDA were no other than PA'RASICA and ANTARMADA' ; and that Lord BACON, whom, with all his faults, (and grievous faults they were,) we may justly call *the great architect of the temple of knowledge*, concluded rightly, that the Mythology of the *Greeks*, which their oldest writers do not pretend to have invented, was no more than a *light air*, which had passed from a more ancient people into the flutes of the *Grecians*, and which they modulated into such descants as best suited their fancies and the state of their new settlements : but we must ever attend to the distinction between *evidence* and *conjecture* ; and I am not yet fully satisfied with many parts of Mr. WILFORD'S Essay, which are founded on so uncertain a basis as *conjectural* Etymology ; though I readily admit, that his etymologies are always ingenious, often plausible, and may hereafter, perhaps, be confirmed by historical proof. Let me conclude these remarks with applying to Him the words of the memorable writer whom I have just named, and with expressing an opinion, in which I have no doubt of your concurrence,

“ That, with persevering industry, and with scrupulous
 “ attention to genealogies, monuments, inscriptions,
 “ names and titles, derivations of words, traditions and
 “ archives, fragments of history, and scattered passa-

“ges from rare books on very different subjects, he
“has preserved a venerable *tablet from the shipwreck of*
“time; a work, operose and painful to the author, but,
“extremely delightful to his readers, and highly de-
“serving their grateful acknowledgments.”

XIV.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PLANT BUTEA.

BY DR. ROXBURGH.

I. **THE** *Maduga* of the *Gentoos*, and *Plaso* of the *Hortus Malabaricus*,* is a middle sized, or rather a large, tree, not very common on the lowlands of this coast, but much more so up amongst the mountains: it casts its leaves during the cold season; they come out again with the flowers about the months of *March* and *April*, and the seed is ripe in *June* or *July*.

TRUNK irregular, generally a little crooked, covered with ash-coloured, spongy, thick, slightly scabrous bark, the middle strata of which contain a red juice hereafter to be mentioned.

BRANCHES very irregularly bent in various directions; young shoots downy.

LEAVES alternate, spreading, threed, from eight to sixteen inches long. Leaflets emarginated, or rounded at the apex, leathery, above shining and pretty smooth, below slightly hoary, entire: the pair are obliquely oval, from four to seven inches long, and from three to four and a half broad; the exterior one inverse hearted, or, in other words, transversely oval, and considerably larger than the lateral.

Common

* The BUTEA *Frondosa* of KOENIG.

Common Petiole round, when young, downy, the length of the leaflets.

Stipules of the Petiole small, recurved, downy.
 ——— of the Leaflets awled.

RACEME terminal, axillary, and form tuberosities over the naked woody branchlets, standing in every direction, rigid, covered with a soft greenish purple down.

FLOWERS *Papilionaceous*, pendulous, pedicelled, fascicled, large, their ground of a beautiful deep red, shaded with orange and silver-coloured down, which gives them a most elegant appearance.

PEDICELS round, about an inch long, articulated near the apex, and covered with the same greenish velvet-like down.

BRACTS, one below the insertion of each pedicel, lanced, falling, two similar but smaller, pressing on the Calyx, falling also.

CALYX : *Perianth* belled, leathery, two-lipped, *upper* lip large, scarce emarginated ; *under* three-toothed, covered with the same dark green down that the raceme and pedicels are covered with, withering.

COROL :

Banner reflected, egged, pointed, very little longer than the wings.

Wings ascending, lanced, the length of the keel.

Keel below two parted, ascending, large, mooned, the length of the wings and banner.

STAMENS : filaments one and nine, ascending in a regular semicircle, about as long as the corol.

Anthers equal, linear, erect.

PISTIL: *Germ* short, thick, pedicelled, lanced, downy.
Style ascending, a little larger than the filaments.
Stigma small, glandulous.

PERICARP, *legume* pedicelled, large, pendulous, all, but the apex where the seed is lodged, leafy, downy, about six inches long by two broad, never opening of itself.

SEED one, lodged at the point of the legume, oval, much compressed, smooth, brown, from an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half long, and about one broad.

From natural fissures, and wounds made in the bark of this tree, during the hot season, there issues a most beautiful red juice, which soon hardens into a ruby-coloured brittle astringent gum: but it soon loses its beautiful colour, if exposed to the air: to preserve the colour, it must be gathered as soon as it becomes hard, and kept closely corked up in a bottle.

This gum, held in a flame of a candle, swells and burns away slowly, without smell or the least flame, into a coal, and then into fine light white ashes: held in the mouth it soon dissolves; it tastes strongly, but simply, astringent; heat does not soften it, but rather renders it more brittle; pure water dissolves it perfectly; the solution is of a deep red colour; it is in a great measure soluble in spirits, but this solution is paler, and a little turbid; the watery solution also becomes turbid when spirit is added, and the spirituous more clear by the addition of water; diluted vitriolic acid renders both solutions turbid, mild caustic vegetable alkali changes the colour of the watery solution to a clear deep fiery red:* the spirituous it also deepens, but in a less degree:

Sal

* With an alkalized decoction of this gum, I tried to dye cotton cloth prepared with alum, with sugar of lead, and with a solution of tin

Sal Martis changes the watery solution into a good durable ink.

These are, I think, proofs that a very small proportion of resin is present in this substance: in this it differs essentially from the gum resin called *Kino*, or *Gummi rubrum astringens*, which the *Edinburgh College* has taken into their materia medica (I have used the recent gum in making my experiments, which may make some difference); but as this can be most perfectly dissolved in watery menstrua, it may prove of use where a spirituous solution of the former (being the most complete) cannot be so properly administered, consequently it may prove a valuable acquisition also.

Infusions of the flowers, either fresh or dried, dyed cotton cloth, previously impregnated with a solution of alum or alum and tartar, of a most beautiful bright yellow, which was more or less deep according to the strength of the infusion: a little alkali added to the infusion, changes it to a deep reddish orange; it then dyed unprepared cotton cloth of the same colour, which the least acid changes to a yellow or lemon: these beautiful colours I have not been able to render perfectly permanent.

Amongst numberless experiments, I expressed a quantity of the juice of the fresh flowers, which was diluted with alum water, and rendered perfectly clear by depuration: it was then evaporated by the heat of the sun, into a soft extract; this proves a brighter water-colour than any gamboge I have met with; it is one year since I first used it, and it remains bright,

Infusions

in *aqua regia*, but the reds produced thereby were bad: that where alum was employed, was the best.

Infusions of the dried flowers yielded me an extract very little, if any thing, inferior to the last mentioned; they yield also a very fine durable yellow lake, and all these in a very large proportion.

The *Lac* insects are frequently found on the small branches and the petioles of the leaves of this tree: whether the natural juices of its bark contribute to improve the colour of their red colouring matter, I cannot say; it would require a set of experiments accurately made on specimens of lac gathered from the various trees it is found on, at the same time and as nearly as possible from the same place, to determine this point.

I do not find that the natives make any use of the gum or flowers, although they promise to be valuable, the former as a medicine, and the latter as a pigment and dying drug.

II. BUTEA SUPERBA,* *Tiga Maduga* of the *Gentoos*, is a very large twining shrub, a native of the mountains. Flowering time, the beginning of the hot season.

Root spindle-form, very large.

STEM twining, as thick as, or thicker than, a man's leg, woody, very long, running over large trees. Bark, ash-coloured, pretty smooth.

BRANCHES like the stem, but small, and with a smoother bark.

LEAVES alternate, threed, remote, very large.

LEAFLETS

* So named by Dr. ROXBURGH.

LEAFLETS downy, in other respects as in *Butea Frondosa*, but greatly larger: the exterior one is generally about twenty inches long, and broad in proportion, the lateral somewhat less.

RACEMES as in the former, but much larger.

FLOWERS also the same, only much larger, and more numerous.

CALYX divided as the other, but the divisions longer, and much more pointed.

COROL the same.

LEGUMES and seed as in the former, but rather larger.

When this species is in full flower, I do not think the vegetable world offers a more gaudy show: the flowers are incomparably beautiful, very large, and very numerous; the colours are so exceedingly vivid, that my best painter has not been able, with his utmost skill, to come any thing like near their brightness.

From fissures, &c. in the bark, the same sort of ruby-coloured astringent gum exudes: the flowers also yield the same beautiful yellow dye and pigment.

Dr. ROXBURGH's Description of the *NERIUM Tinctorium* would have been subjoined; but the publication of it is delayed, until the Society have been favoured with the result of his father's experiments.

XV.

ON THE

MANUFACTURE OF INDIGO

AT AMBORE.

BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL CLAUDE MARTIN.

I PRESENT the Society with a short description of the process observed in the culture and manufacture of Indigo in this part of *India*. The *Ambore* district is comprised within a range of surrounding hills of a moderate height. The river *Pallar*, declining from its apparent southerly direction, enters this district about three miles from the eastward, washes the *Ambore Pettah*, a small neat village, distant three miles to the southward of the fort of that name, situated in a beautiful valley; the skirts of the hills covered with the *Palmeria* and *Date* trees, from the produce of which a considerable quantity of coarse sugar is made; this tract is fertilized by numerous rills of water conducted from the river along the margin of the heights, and throughout the intermediate extent: this element being conveyed in these artificial canals (three feet deep,) affording a pure and crystal current of excellent water for the supply of the Rice-fields, Tobacco, Mango, and Cocoa-nut, plantations; the highest situated lands affording Indigo, apparently without any artificial watering, and attaining maturity at this season notwithstanding the intenseness of the heat, the thermometer under cover of a tent rising to 100, and out of it to 120; the plant affording even in the driest spots good foliage, although more luxuriant in moister situations. I am just returned from examining the manufacture of this article. First, the plant is boiled in earthen pots of about eighteen inches diameter, disposed on the ground in excavated ranges,

ranges, from twenty to thirty feet long, and one broad, according to the number used. When the boiling process has extracted all the colouring matter ascertainable by the colour exhibited, the extract is immediately poured into an adjoining small jar fixed in the ground for its reception, and is thence laded in small pots into larger jars disposed on adjoining higher ground, being first filtered through a cloth; the jar, when three-fourths full, is agitated with a split bamboo extended into a circle, of a diameter from thirteen to twenty inches, the hoop twisted with a sort of coarse straw, with which the manufacturer proceeds to beat or agitate the extract, until a granulation of the fecula takes place, the operation continuing nearly for the space of three-fourths of an hour; a precipitant, composed of red earth and water, in the quantity of four quart bottles, is poured into the jar, which after mixture is allowed to stand the whole night, and in the morning the superincumbent fluid is drawn off through three or four apertures perforated in the side of the jar in a vertical direction, the lowest reaching to within five inches of the bottom, sufficient to retain the fecula, which is carried to the houses, and dried in bags.

This is the whole of the process recurred to in this part, which, I think, if adopted in *Bengal*, might in no small degree supersede the necessity of raising great and expensive buildings, in a word, save the expenditure of so much money in dead stock, before they can make any Indigo in the *European* method; to which I have to add, that Indigo thus obtained possesses a very fine quality.

As I think these observations may be useful to the manufacturers in *Bengal*, I could wish to see them printed in the Transactions of the *Asiatick* Society.

Ambore,
2d April, 1791.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT OF A TREATISE

ON THE

MANUFACTURE OF INDIGO,

BY MR. DE COSSIGNY.

“ **T**HIS experiment (the *Indian* process) infallibly
 “ shows, that Indigo may be produced by dif-
 “ ferent methods, and how much it is to be regretted
 “ that the *European* artists should remain constantly
 “ wedded to their *method* or *routine*, without having
 “ yet made the necessary inquiries towards attaining
 “ perfection. Many travellers on the coast of *Coro-*
 “ *mandel* having been struck with the apparent sim-
 “ plicity of the means used by the *Indians* in prepar-
 “ ing Indigo, from having seen their artists employed
 “ in the open air with only earthen jars, and from not
 “ having duly examined and weighed the extent of the
 “ detail of their process, apprehended that it is effected
 “ by easier means than with the large vats of masonry
 “ and the machinery employed by *Europeans*: but
 “ they have been greatly mistaken, the whole appearing
 “ a delusive conclusion from the following observation,
 “ viz. that one man can, in the *European* method of
 “ manufacture, bring to issue one vat containing fifty
 “ bundles of plant, which, according to their nature
 “ and quality, may afford from ten to thirty pounds
 “ of Indigo; whereas, by the *Indian* process, one em-
 “ ployed during the same time would probably only
 “ produce one pound of Indigo: the *European* method
 “ is therefore the most simple, as well as every art where
 “ machinery is used instead of manual labour.”

XVI.

N O T E.

Experience alone must decide between the opposite opinions of Colo-
 nel MARTIN and M. DE COSSIGNY.

XVI.

DISCOURSE THE NINTH,

ON THE

ORIGIN AND FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

Delivered 23d February, 1792.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

YOU have attended, gentlemen, with so much indulgence to my discourses on the five *Asiatick* nations, and on the various tribes established along their several borders, or interspersed over their mountains, that I cannot but flatter myself with an assurance of being heard with equal attention, while I trace to one centre the three great families from which those nations appear to have proceeded, and then hazard a few conjectures on the different courses which they may be supposed to have taken toward the countries in which we find them settled at the dawn of all genuine history.

Let us begin with a short review of the propositions, to which we have gradually been led, and separate such as are morally certain from such as are only probable: that the first race of *Persians* and *Indians*, to whom we may add the *Romans* and *Greeks*, the *Goths*, and the old *Egyptians* or *Ethiops*, originally spoke the same language, and professed the same popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of incontestible proof; that the *Jews* and *Arabs*, the *Assyrians*, or second *Persian* race, the people

ple who spoke *Syriack*, and a numerous tribe of *Abyssinians*, used one primitive dialect, wholly distinct from the idiom just mentioned, is, I believe, undisputed, and I am sure, indisputable; but that the settlers in *China* and *Japan* had a common origin with the *Hindus*, is no more than highly probable; and that all the *Tartars*, as they are inaccurately called, were primarily of a third separate branch, totally differing from the two others in language, manners, and features, may indeed be plausibly conjectured, but cannot, from the reasons alledged in a former essay, be perspicuously shown, and for the present, therefore, must be merely assumed. Could these facts be verified by the best attainable evidence, it would not, I presume, be doubted, that the whole earth was peopled by a variety of shoots from the *Indian*, *Arabian*, and *Tartarian* branches, or by such intermixtures of them, as, in a course of ages, might naturally have happened.

Now I admit without hesitation the aphorism of LINNÆUS, that, “in the beginning God created one pair only of every living species, which has a diversity of sex;” but, since that incomparable naturalist argues principally from the wonderful diffusion of vegetables, and from an hypothesis, that the water on this globe has been continually subsiding, I venture to produce a shorter and closer argument in support of his doctrine. That *Nature*, of which simplicity appears a distinguishing attribute, *does nothing in vain*, is a maxim in philosophy; and against those who deny maxims we cannot dispute; but *it is vain and superfluous to do by many means, what may be done by fewer*, and this is another axiom received into courts of judicature from the schools of philosophers: *we must not therefore, says our great NEWTON, admit more causes of natural things, than those which are true, and sufficiently account for natural phenomena*; but it is true, that one pair at least of every living species must at first have been

been created ; and that one human pair was sufficient for the population of our globe in a period of no considerable length, (on the very moderate supposition of lawyers and political arithmeticians, that every pair of ancestors left on an average two children, and each of them two more,) is evident from the rapid increase of numbers in geometrical progression, so well known to those who have ever taken the trouble to sum a series of as many terms as they suppose generations of men in two or three thousand years. It follows, that the Author of Nature (for all nature proclaims its divine Author) created but one pair of our species ; yet, had it not been (among other reasons) for the devastations, which history has recorded, of water and fire, wars, famine, and pestilence, this earth would not now have had room for its multiplied inhabitants. If the human race then be, as we may confidently assume, of one natural species, they must all have proceeded from one pair ; and if perfect justice be, as it is most indubitably an essential attribute of GOD, that pair must have been gifted with sufficient wisdom and strength to be virtuous, and, as far as their nature admitted, happy, but intrusted with freedom of will to be vicious, and consequently degraded : whatever might be their option, they must people in time the region where they first were established, and their numerous descendants must necessarily seek new countries, as inclination might prompt, or accident lead, them ; they would of course migrate in separate families and clans, which, forgetting by degrees the language of their common progenitor, would form new dialects to convey new ideas, both simple and complex : natural affection would unite them at first, and a sense of reciprocal utility, the great and only cement of social union in the absence of publick honour and justice, for which in evil times it is a general substitute, would combine them at length in communities more or less regular ; laws would be proposed by a part of each community, but enacted by the whole ; and

governments would be variously arranged for the happiness or misery of the governed, according to their own virtue and wisdom, or depravity and folly; so that, in less than three thousand years, the world would exhibit the same appearances which we may actually observe on it in the age of the great *Arabian* impostor.

On that part of it to which our united researches are generally confined, we see *five* races of men peculiarly distinguished, in the time of MUHAMMED, for their multitude and extent of dominion; but we have reduced them to *three*, because we can discover no more, that essentially differ in language, religion, manners, and other known characteristics: now these three races, how variously soever they may at present be dispersed and intermixed, must (if the preceding conclusions be justly drawn) have migrated originally from a central country, to find which is the problem proposed for solution. Suppose it solved; and give any arbitrary name to that centre: let it, if you please, be *Iran*. The three primitive languages, therefore, must at first have been concentrated in *Iran*, and there only in fact we see traces of them in the earliest historical age; but, for the sake of greater precision, conceive the whole empire of *Iran*, with all its mountains and valleys, plains and rivers, to be every way infinitely diminished; the first winding courses, therefore, of all the nations proceeding from it by land, and nearly at the same time, will be little right lines, but without intersections, because those courses could not have thwarted and crossed one another: if then you consider the seats of all the migrating nations as points in a surrounding figure, you will perceive, that the several rays, diverging from *Iran*, may be drawn to them without any intersection; but this will not happen, if you assume as a centre *Arabia*, or *Egypt*; *India*, *Tartary*, or *China*: it follows, that *Iran*, or *Persia*, (I contend for the meaning, not the name,) was the central country which we sought. This

mode of reasoning I have adopted, not from any affectation (as you will do me the justice to believe) of a scientifick diction, but for the sake of conciseness and variety, and from a wish to avoid repetitions; the substance of my argument having been detailed in a different form at the close of another discourse; nor does the argument in any form rise to demonstration, which the question by no means admits: it amounts, however, to such a proof, grounded on written evidence and credible testimony, as all mankind hold sufficient for decisions affecting property, freedom, and life.

Thus then have we proved, that the inhabitants of *Asia*, and consequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, sprang from three branches of one stem: and that those branches have shot into their present state of luxuriance, in a period comparatively short, is apparent from a fact universally acknowledged, that we find no certain monument, or even probable tradition, of nations planted, empires and states raised, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve, or at most fifteen or sixteen, centuries before the birth of CHRIST; and from another fact, which cannot be controverted, that seven hundred or a thousand years would have been fully adequate to the supposed propagation, diffusion, and establishment of the human race.

The most ancient history of that race, and the oldest composition perhaps in the world, is a work in *Hebrew*, which we may suppose at first, for the sake of our argument, to have no higher authority than any other work of equal antiquity that the researches of the curious had accidentally brought to light: it is ascribed to *MUSA*H; for so he writes his own name, which, after the *Greeks* and *Romans*, we have changed into *MOSES*; and, though it was manifestly his object to give an his-

torical account of a single family, he has introduced it with a short view of the primitive world, and his introduction has been divided, perhaps improperly, into *eleven* chapters. After describing with awful sublimity the creation of this universe, he asserts, that one pair of every animal species was called from nothing into existence ; that the human pair were strong enough to be happy, but free to be miserable ; that, from delusion and temerity, they disobeyed their supreme Benefactor, whose goodness could not pardon them consistently with his justice ; and that they received a punishment adequate to their disobedience, but softened by a mysterious promise to be accomplished in their descendants. We cannot but believe, on the supposition just made of a history uninspired, that these facts were delivered by tradition from the first pair, and related by MOSES in a figurative style ; not in that sort of allegory which rhetoricians describe as a mere assemblage of metaphors, but in the symbolical mode of writing adopted by eastern sages, to embellish and dignify historical truth ; and, if this were a time for such illustrations, we might produce the same account of the *creation* and the *fall*, expressed by symbols very nearly similar, from the *Purânas* themselves, and even from the *Vêda*, which appears to stand next in antiquity to the five books of MOSES.

The sketch of antediluvian history, in which we find many dark passages, is followed by the narrative of a *deluge*, which destroyed the whole race of man, except four pairs ; an historical fact admitted as true by every nation to whose literature we have access, and particularly by the ancient *Hindus*, who have allotted an entire *Purâna* to the detail of that event, which they relate, as usual, in symbols or allegories. I concur most heartily with those, who insist, that, in proportion as any fact mentioned in history seems repugnant to the course of nature, or, in one word, miraculous, the stronger evidence is required to induce a rational belief of it: but we
hear

hear without incredulity, that cities have been overwhelmed by eruptions from burning mountains, territories laid waste by hurricanes, and whole islands depopulated by earthquakes : if then we look at the firmament sprinkled with innumerable stars ; if we conclude by a fair analogy, that every star is a sun, attracting, like ours, a system of inhabited planets ; and if our ardent fancy, soaring hand in hand with sound reason, waft us beyond the visible sphere into regions of immensity, disclosing other celestial expanses, and other systems of suns and worlds, on all sides without number or end, we cannot but consider the submerſion of our little ſperoid as an infinitely leſs event in reſpect of the immeaſurable univerſe, than the deſtruction of a city or an iſle in reſpect of this habitable globe. Let a general flood, however, be ſuppoſed improbable, in proportion to the magnitude of ſo ruinous an event, yet the concurrent evidences of it are completely adequate to the ſuppoſed improbability ; but, as we cannot here expatiate on thoſe proofs, we proceed to the fourth important fact recorded in the *Mosaick* hiſtory ; I mean the firſt propagation and early diſperſion of mankind *in ſeparate families* to ſeparate places of reſidence.

Three ſons of the juſt and virtuous man, whoſe lineage was preſerved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in *three* large diviſions variouſly ſubdivided : the children of YA'FET ſeem, from the traces of *Sclavonian* names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have ſpread themſelves far and wide, and to have produced the race, which, for want of a correct appellation, we call *Tartarian* : the colonies, formed by the ſons of HAM and SHEM, appear to have been nearly ſimultaneous ; and, among thoſe of the latter branch, we find ſo many names incontestibly preſerved at this hour in *Arabia*, that we cannot hesitate in pronouncing them the ſame people whom hitherto we have denominated *Arabs* ; while the former
branch,

branch, the most powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of CUSH, MISR, and RAMA, (names remaining unchanged in *Sanscrit*, and highly revered by the *Hindus*,) were, in all probability, the race which I call *Indian*, and to which we may now give any other name that may seem more proper and comprehensive.

The general introduction to the *Jewish* history closes with a very concise and obscure account of a presumptuous and mad attempt, by a particular colony, to build a splendid city, and raise a fabrick of immense height, independently of the divine aid, and, it should seem, in defiance of the divine power; a project, which was baffled by means appearing at first view inadequate to the purpose, but ending in violent dissention among the projectors, and in the ultimate separation of them: this event also seems to be recorded by the ancient *Hindus* in two of their *Purānas*; and it will be proved, I trust, on some future occasion, that *the lion bursting from a pillar to destroy a blaspheming giant*, and *the dwarf who beguiled and held in derision the magnificent BELI*, are one and the same story related in a symbolical style.

Now these primeval events are described as having happened between the *Oxus* and *Euphrates*, the mountains of *Caucasus* and the borders of *India*, that is, within the limits of *Iran*; for, though most of the *Mosaick* names have been considerably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged: we still find *Harrān* in *Mesopotamia*, and travellers appear unanimous in fixing the site of ancient *Babel*.

Thus, on the preceding supposition, that the first eleven chapters of the book which is thought proper to call *Genesis*, are merely a preface to the oldest civil history now extant, we see the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable,

probable, and in part certain; but the *connection* of the *Mosaick* history with that of the Gospel by a chain of sublime predictions unquestionably ancient, and apparently fulfilled, must induce us to think the *Hebrew* narrative more than human in its origin, and consequently true in every substantial part of it, though possibly expressed in figurative language; as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the most pious may believe without injury, and perhaps with advantage, to the cause of revealed religion. If Moses then was endued with supernatural knowledge, it is no longer probable only, but absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from *Iran* as from a centre, whence they migrated at first in three great colonies; and that those three branches grew from a common stock, which had been miraculously preserved in a general convulsion and inundation of this globe.

Having arrived by a different path at the same conclusion with Mr. BRYANT as to one of those families, the most ingenious and enterprising of the three, but arrogant, cruel, and idolatrous, which we both conclude to be various shoots from the *Hamian* or *Amonian* branch, I shall add but little to my former observations on his profound and agreeable work, which I have thrice perused with increased attention and pleasure, though not with perfect acquiescence in the other less important parts of his plausible system. The sum of his argument seems reducible to three heads. First; “if the deluge really happened at the time recorded by MOSES, those nations whose monuments are preserved, or whose writings are accessible, must have retained memorials of an event so stupendous, and comparatively so recent; and in fact they have retained such memorials.” This reasoning seems just, and the fact is true beyond controversy. Secondly; “those memorials were expressed by the race of HAM, before the use of letters, in rude sculpture or painting, and mostly in symbolical

“ lical figures of the *ark*, the eight persons concealed in
 “ it, and the birds which first were dismissed from it :
 “ this fact is probable, but, I think, not sufficiently as-
 “ certained.” Thirdly ; “ all ancient Mythology (ex-
 “ cept what was purely *Sabian*) had its primary source
 “ in those various symbols misunderstood ; so that an-
 “ cient Mythology stands now in the place of symboli-
 “ cal sculpture or painting, and must be explained on
 “ the same principles on which we should begin to de-
 “ cypher the originals, if they now existed.” This part
 of the system is, in my opinion, carried too far ; nor
 can I persuade myself (to give one instance out of ma-
 ny) that the beautiful allegory of CUPID and PSYCHE
 had the remotest allusion to the deluge, or that HYMEN
 signified the *veil* which covered the Patriarch and his
 family. These propositions, however, are supported
 with great ingenuity and solid erudition ; but, unpro-
 fitably for the argument, and unfortunately, perhaps,
 for the sake of the work itself, recourse is had to ety-
 mological conjecture, than which no mode of reasoning
 is in general weaker or more delusive. He who pro-
 fesses to derive the words of any one language from
 those of another, must expose himself to the danger of
 perpetual errors, unless he be perfectly acquainted with
 both ; yet my respectable friend, though eminently
 skilled in the idioms of *Greece* and *Rome*, has no sort of
 acquaintance with any *Asiatick* dialect, except *Hebrew* ;
 and he has consequently made mistakes, which every
 learner of *Arabick* and *Persian* must instantly detect.
 Among *fifty* radical words (*ma*, *taph*, and *ram*, being
 included) *eighteen* are purely of *Arabian* origin, *twelve*
 merely *Indian*, and *seventeen* both *Sanscrit* and *Arabick*,
 but in senses totally different ; while *two* are *Greek* only,
 and one *Egyptian*, or barbarous : if it be urged, that
 those *radicals* (which ought surely to have concluded,
 instead of preceding, an *analytical* inquiry) are precious
 traces of the primitive language, from which all others
 were derived, or to which at least they were subsequent,

I can

I can only declare my belief, that the language of NOAH is lost irretrievably, and assure you, that, after a diligent search, I cannot find a single word used in common by the *Arabian, Indian, and Tartar* families, before the intermixture of dialects occasioned by *Mahomedan* conquests. There are, indeed, very obvious traces of the *Hamian* language, and some hundreds of words might be produced, which were formerly used promiscuously by most nations of that race; but I beg leave, as a philologist, to enter my protest against conjectural etymology in historical researches, and principally against the licentiousness of etymologists in transposing and inserting letters, in substituting at pleasure any consonant for another of the same order, and in totally disregarding the vowels: for such permutations few radical words would be more convenient than CUS, or CUSH, since, dentals being changed for dentals, and palatials for palatials, it instantly becomes *coot, goose*, and by transposition, *duck*, all water-birds, and *evidently* symbolical: it next is the *goat* worshipped in *Egypt*, and, by a metathesis, the *dog* adored as an emblem of SIRIUS, or, more obviously, a *cat*, not the domestick animal, but a sort of ship, and the *Catos*, or great sea-fish, of the *Dorians*. It will hardly be imagined, that I mean by this irony to insult an author whom I respect and esteem; but no consideration should induce me to assist by my silence in the diffusion of error; and I contend, that almost any word or nation might be derived from any other, if such licences as I am opposing were permitted in etymological histories. When we find, indeed, the same words, letter for letter, and in a sense precisely the same, in different languages, we can scarce hesitate in allowing them a common origin; and, not to depart from the example before us, when we see CUSH, or CUS, (for the *Sanfrit* name also is variously pronounced), among the sons of BRAHMA, that is, among the progenitors of the *Hindus*, and at the head of an ancient pedigree preserved in the *Rámáyán*; when we meet with his name again in
the

the family of RA'MA ; whence we know, that the name is venerated in the highest degree, and given to a sacred grass, described as a *Poa* by KOENIG, which is used with a thousand ceremonies in the oblations to fire, ordained by MENU to form the sacrificial zone of the *Brahmans*, and solemnly declared in the *Véda* to have sprung up soon after the *deluge*, whence the *Pauránicks* consider it as the *bristly hair of the boar which supported the globe*: when we add, that one of the seven *dwîpas*, or great peninsulas of this earth, has the same appellation, we can hardly doubt, that the CUSH of MOSES, and VA'LMIC, was the same personage, and an ancestor of the *Indian* race.

From the testimonies adduced in the six last annual discourses, and from the additional proofs laid before you, or rather opened, on the present occasion, it seems to follow, that the only human family after the flood established themselves in the northern parts of *Iran* ; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three distinct branches, each retaining little at first, and losing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing severally on new expressions for new ideas ; that the branch of YA'FET was *enlarged* in many scattered shoots over the north of *Europe* and *Asia*, diffusing themselves as far as the western and eastern seas, and, at length, in the infancy of navigation, beyond them both ; that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no use of letters, but formed a variety of dialects, as their tribes were variously ramified ; that, secondly, the children of HAM, who founded in *Iran* itself the monarchy of the first *Chaldeans*, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known *Indian* period of *four hundred and thirty-two thousand years*, or an *hundred and twenty* repetitions of the *saros*, and contrived the old system of Mythology, partly allegorical, and partly grounded on idolatrous

trous veneration for their sages and lawgivers ; that they were dispersed at various intervals, and in various colonies, over land and ocean ; that the tribes of MISR, CUSH, and RAMA, settled in *Africk* and *India* ; while some of them, having improved the art of sailing, passed from *Egypt*, *Phenice*, and *Phrygia*, into *Italy* and *Greece*, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants, of whom they supplanted some tribes, and united themselves with others ; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved by a northerly course into *Scandinavia*, and another, by the head of the *Oxus*, and through the passes of *Imaus*, into *Cashgar* and *Eighúr*, *Khatá*, and *Khoten*, as far as the territories of *Chín* and *Tancút*, where letters have been used, and arts immemorially cultivated : nor is it unreasonable to believe, that some of them found their way from the eastern isles into *Mexico* and *Peru*, where traces were discovered of rude literature and mythology analagous to those of *Egypt* and *India* ; that, thirdly, the old *Chaldean* empire being overthrown by the *Affyrians* under CAYU'MERS, other migrations took place, especially into *India* ; while the rest of SHEM's progeny, some of whom had before settled on the Red Sea, peopled the whole *Arabian* peninsula, pressing close on the nations of *Syria* and *Phenice* ; that, lastly, from all the three families were detached many bold adventurers, of an ardent spirit and a roving disposition, who disdained subordination, and wandered in separate clans, till they settled in distant isles, or in deserts and mountainous regions ; that, on the whole, some colonies might have migrated before the death of their venerable progenitor, but that states and empires could scarce have assumed a regular form, till fifteen or sixteen hundred years before the *Christian* epoch ; and that, for the first thousand years of that period, we have no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished, nation descended from ABRAHAM.

My design, gentlemen, of tracing the origin and progress of the five principal nations who have peopled *Asia*, and of whom there were considerable remains in their several countries at the time of MUHAMMED'S birth, is now accomplished; succinctly, from the nature of these essays; imperfectly, from the darkness of the subject and scantiness of my materials, but clearly and comprehensively enough to form a basis for subsequent researches: you have seen, as distinctly as I am able to show, *who* those nations originally were, *whence* and *when* they moved towards their final stations; and, in my future annual discourses, I propose to enlarge on the *particular advantages* to our country and to mankind, which may result from our sedulous and united inquiries into the history, science, and arts, of these *Asiatick* regions, especially of the *British* dominions in *India*, which we may consider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true interests; and we shall concur, I trust, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whose manly happiness is our duty, and will of course be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor securely free without rational knowledge.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

| | | |
|-------|--|-------------|
| I. | The Eighth Anniversary Discourse, | - P. 1 |
| II. | On the Inhabitants of the <i>Garrow Hills</i> , | - 17 |
| III. | A Royal Grant of Land in <i>Carnâta</i> , | - 39 |
| IV. | On the Musical Modes of the <i>Hindus</i> , | - 55 |
| V. | An Account of the Battle of <i>Paniput</i> , | - 91 |
| VI. | On Practical Tables, and one of the <i>Hindu</i> Rules, | - - - - 141 |
| VII. | On the <i>Nicobars</i> , and the Fruit of the <i>Mel-</i> <i>lóri</i> , | - - - - 149 |
| VIII. | On the Mystical Poetry of the East, | - 165 |
| IX. | On the <i>Indian</i> Cycle of Sixty Years, | - 209 |
| X. | On the Wild Elephants of <i>Tripura</i> , | - 229 |
| XI. | The Plan of an <i>Asiatick</i> Common-place Book, | - - - - 249 |
| XII. | The Lunar Year of the <i>Hindus</i> , | - 257 |
| XIII. | On <i>Egypt</i> and the <i>Nile</i> from the <i>Sanscrit</i> , | 295 |
| XIV. | A Description of the Plant <i>Butea</i> , | - 469 |
| XV. | On the Manufacture of <i>Indigo</i> | - 475 |
| XVI. | The Ninth Anniversary Discourse, | - 479 |

There are some Overights, or Errors of the Prefs,
both in Punctuation and Orthography, which the
Reader is desired to correct.

M E M B E R S
OF THE
ASIATICK SOCIETY,
AT THE END OF THE YEAR M.DCC.XCII.

P A T R O N S.

THE RT. HON. CHAS. EARL CORNWALLIS,
KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
&c. &c. &c.

THE HON. CHARLES STUART, } *Members of*
PETER SPEKE, Esq. } *the Supreme*
WILLIAM COWPER, Esq. } *Council.*

PRESIDENT, SIR WILLIAM JONES, KNT.
SECRETARY, EDMUND MORRIS, Esq.

A.

David Anderson, Esq.
Lieut. James Anderson.
Doctor James Anderson.

B.

Lieut. Limington Baillie.
Francis Balfour, M. D.
George Hil. Barlow, Esq.
John Bebb, Esq.

Rev. Dr. J. Bell.
Robert Blake, Esq.
Robert Biddulph, Esq.
Sir Charles Blunt, Bart.
R. H. Boddam, Esq.

Charles Boddam, Esq.
John Bristow, Esq.
Ralph Broome, Esq.
William Burroughs, Esq.
Adam Burt, Esq.

C.

Gen. John Carnac.
Sir Robert Chambers, Knt.
William Chambers, Esq.

Joseph Champion, Esq.
Charles Chapman, Esq.
George F. Cherry, Esq.
Hon. John Cochrane.
Lieut. Robert Colebrooke.
Burroughs Crisp, Esq.
John Crisp, Esq.

D.

Thomas Daniell, Esq.
Samuel Davis, Esq.
William Devis, Esq.
George Dowdeswell, Esq.
Jonathan Duncan, Esq.

E.

N. B. Edmonstone, Esq.
John Eliot, Esq.

F.

John Farquar, Esq.
John Fleming, Esq.
Capt. Thomas Forrest.
Francis Fowke, Esq.
Lieut. W. Franklin.
Lieut. Charles Fraser.

Col.

Col. James Fullarton.

G.

John Gilchrist, Esq.

Francis Gladwin, Esq.

Thomas Graham, Esq.

Charles Grant, Esq.

James Grant, Esq.

H.

Major Henry Haldane.

Alex. Hamilton, Esq.

Lieut. Charles Hamilton.

James Hare, M. D.

Herbert Harris, Esq.

J. Herbert Harington, Esq.

Warren Hastings, Esq.

Edward Hay, Esq.

W. Nath. W. Hewett, Esq.

Lieut. Hoare.

Francis Horsley, Esq.

Lieut. Isaac Humphries.

Ofias Humphrys, Esq.

William Hunter, Esq.

Mr. Justice Hyde.

J.

Richard Johnson, Esq.

Ralph Irving, Esq.

K.

Richard Kennaway, Esq.

Sir John Kennaway.

Capt William Kirkpatrick.

L.

Thomas Law, Esq.

Capt. Herbert Lloyd.

M.

Lieut. Colin Macauley.

Ensign Alex. Macdonald.

Sir John Macpherson, Bt.

Col. Allen Macpherson.

Francis Macnaghten, Esq.

Sir Cha. Ware Malet, Esq.

William Marsden, Esq.

Barthol. Marsh, Esq.

Cha. Fuller Martyn, Esq.

George Cha. Meyer, Esq.

Nathaniel Middleton, Esq.

Col. John Murray.

P.

John David Paterfon, Esq.

Lieut. Col. A. Polier.

R.

John Rawlins, Esq.

John Richardson, Esq.

Major Roberts.

John Royds, Esq.

S.

Robert Saunders, Esq.

Capt. Jon. Scott.

Capt. Richard Scott.

Capt. William Scott.

John Shore, Esq.

Sir Robert Sloper, K. B.

John Stables, Esq.

Capt. William Steuart.

T.

John Taylor, Esq.

Mr. Isaac Titlingh.

Hen. St. John Tucker, Esq.

Lieut. Sam. Turner.

W.

Lieut. Francis Wilford.

Charles Wilkins, Esq.

John Williams, Esq.

Z.

John Zoffany, Esq.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

M Charpentier de Cossigny

M. Le Gentil.



